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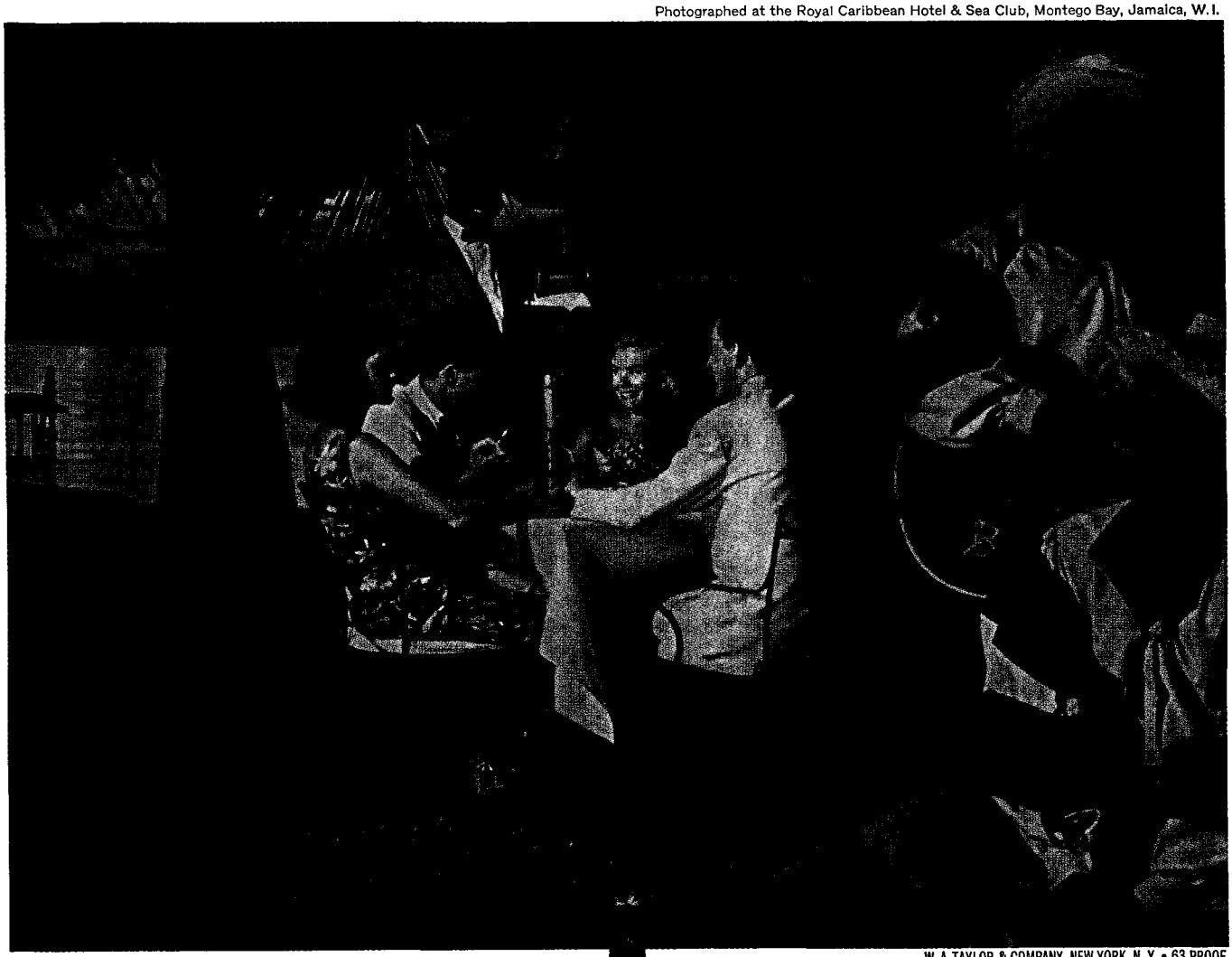

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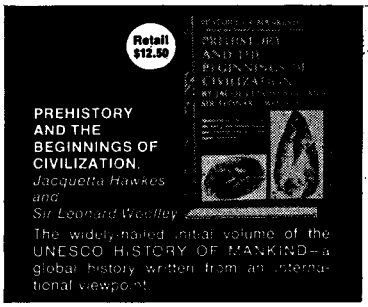
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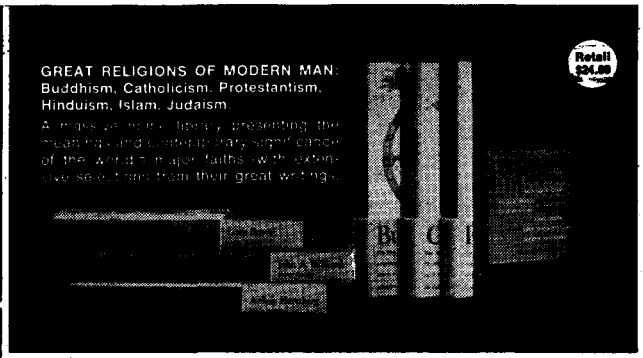

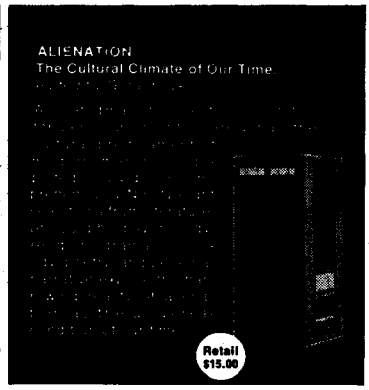

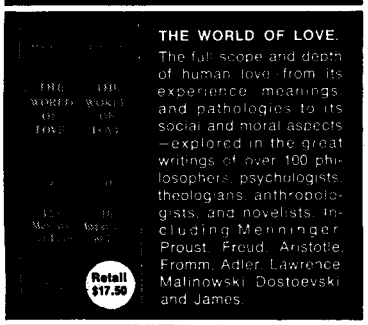
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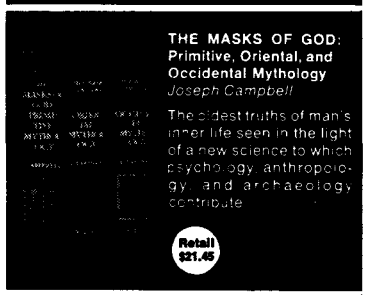
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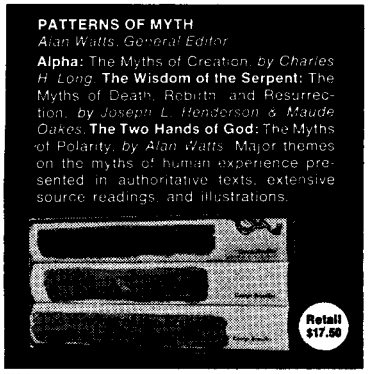
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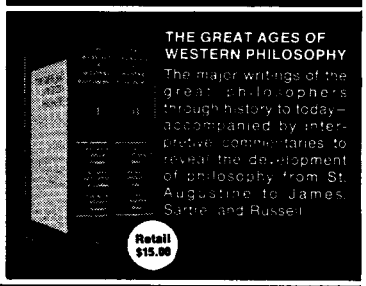
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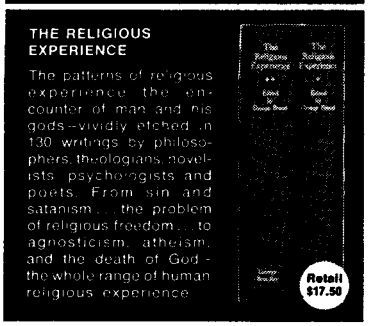
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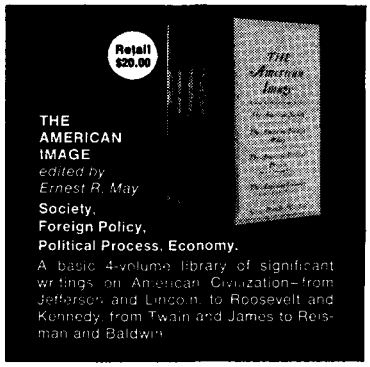
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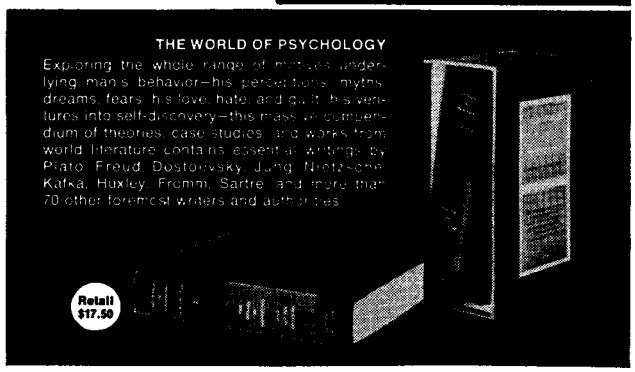
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Here is my solution for Mr. Koltanowski_____.

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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

ROME was not built in a day and neither will a unified Europe be, no matter how much enthusiastic optimism is generated in the press over each step taken by the Common Market toward integration. There is still a wide gap between the vision of the architects of the new Europe and the national requirements of their clients. We were reminded of this once again by the cautionary language of President de Gaulle's press conference this month, analyzed here by **Edmond Taylor.** "Parity in progress is not possible," de Gaulle told his audience. History, he was saying, moves at different speeds on different levels. . . . It has long been clear that the Europe desired by the French president is quite different from the one to which the Europe Now members of the European Parliament aspire. From the vantage point of Strasbourg, **Edward T. O'Toole,** who covers the Common Market for the New York *Times*, describes the limitations set on that assembly and the ambitions of its members to break through them toward a speedier political unification of Europe.

THE Christian Democrats in Latin America have been, on the whole, what their party name would imply—Christian and democratic. In Chile, for example, where they are in power, they are committed to making long-needed political and economic reforms. It comes as something of a mystery, therefore, that a labor organization calling itself "Christian" and deriving much of its financial support from Catholic and Christian Democratic labor organizations in Europe should actively oppose the efforts of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and its U.S. affiliates to improve labor conditions in Latin America. **Gladys Delmas** reports on this curious situation from Mexico City. . . . Despite the national preoccupation with problem identification, there's one problem to which **Meg Greenfield** is the first to give a public airing. Even the Johnson administration, she writes, is only now beginning to recognize the implications. . . . **Claire Sterling** reports from Madrid that General Franco's régime has settled into a complacent old age and that, while the opposition no longer hopes to overthrow the Caudillo, there is a surprising amount of freedom for democratic opposition groups to prepare for the day when Franco is gone. . . . The line between government subsidy for religion and government subsidy for schools with religious affiliations is a fine one. **Donald Bremner,** a reporter for the Baltimore *Evening Sun*, describes the progress of a crucial case involving these questions which is about to be tested in a Maryland court. . . . **Thomas Atkins,** a Pole who worked in Warsaw for the New York *Times*, advances reasons why aid to Poland, recently discontinued, should be resumed on a more realistic basis.

THE artistry and personality of Wanda Landowska are reviewed by **Frederic V. Grunfeld,** who provides a list of available recordings. Mr. Grunfeld, a regular contributor and a former commentator on music for WQXR, now lives on Mallorca. . . . **Alfred Werner** writes about two Austrian painters who have recently been recalled from relative obscurity in this country through an exhibition of their works at the Guggenheim Museum in New York. Mr. Werner has written and lectured widely on the art of the twentieth century. His books include *Painting of the Post-Impressionists*, *Modigliani the Sculptor*, and *Jules Pascin*. . . . Our regular Chilean commentator, **Fernando Krahn,** has good reasons to cry help. . . . Two critics make a plea for fairness when it comes to judging the great difficulties involved in attempting to achieve urban renewal. **William W. Nash, Jr.,** is chairman of the Department of City and Regional Planning in the Graduate School of Design at Harvard. **Chester W. Hartman** is director of the Special Commission on Low Income Housing for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. . . . **John Engels** is writer in residence at St. Michael's College, in Winooski, Vermont. . . . **George Steiner's** most recent book is *Anno Domini* (Atheneum); he teaches at Churchill College, Cambridge. . . . **Marcus Klein,** a member of the faculty at Barnard College, is the author of *After Alienation: American Novels in Mid-Century* (World).

Our cover for this issue is by **Christine Chagnoux.**

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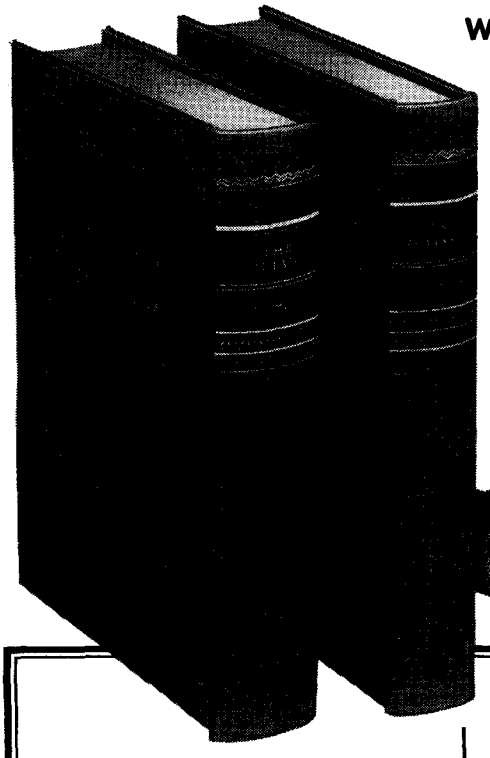

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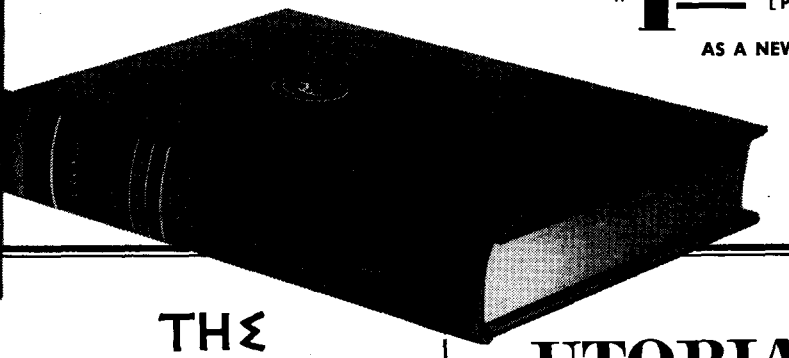

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To the Editor: Everyone, especially in a mechanistic society, should realize that no machine or procedure is ever perfect. Periodic redesign is required to increase efficiency and responsiveness to changing needs and circumstances. This is true, also, in the process of collective bargaining, as demonstrated in A. H. Raskin's perceptive analysis of the current labor-relations scene, "Rumbles from the Rank and File" (*The Reporter*, January 28).

Increasingly nowadays, employers and unions are examining their traditional bargaining procedures to determine where repair or revision is required. When help is needed, Federal mediators are providing advice and counsel in experimenting with new bargaining methods, particularly those methods providing more time for careful study and exploration of mutual problems. We are meeting with considerable success where parties can overcome an initial reluctance to try something new and different.

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Washington

STRIKES AND STUDENTS

To the Editor: Your issue of January 28 both raises and helps to answer the question, "What do laboring men have in common with university students and professors?" The parallels referred to in the articles "Rumbles from the Rank and File" by A. H. Raskin and "The Lesson of Berkeley" by Seymour Martin Lipset and Paul Seabury are striking—even to the fact that both students and workers used the "strike" as a weapon.

We read in one article that "The structure of a big union makes it almost inescapable that the international president . . . will find himself increasingly remote from the rank and file," and in the other that the undergraduate students "feel remote from the internationally renowned on the faculty."

The union executive "must be concerned with the investment of huge sums in union funds; . . . he is a frequent visitor at the White House; governors and mayors seek his guidance." Meanwhile, back at the campus, "administrators tend to become preoccupied with raising funds and gaining influence."

The "rank and file once again feels itself stripped of dignity by submersion in the mass mold of factory life," while the Berkeley professors "feel that their interests and academic eminence are being sacrificed to the system" and the students feel that "Berkeley is a big, impersonal place."

Mr. Raskin states that "The workers' sense of obliteration in a mechanized society dominated by giant corporations and giant unions is making rank-and-file pressure for more recognition the most assertive and disruptive force on the strike front." Or as it is put by Mario Savio: "The students revolt against the apparatus of the university."

It is interesting that similarities as great as these are reported for such apparently diverse groups in our society.

Robert E. Forman, Chairman
Department of Sociology
and Anthropology
Wisconsin State University
Oshkosh, Wisconsin

To the Editor: If students are to "strike" or prevent the orderly conduct of our universities because they feel aggrieved about this or that, or if, as is now occasionally the case, they propose to take to the courts some grievance about grades (on the ground that they are being unfairly deprived of the right to practice a profession), we face a condition of growing academic anarchy. If the campus liberals are demanding "freedom," is it only "freedom from"? Must they not also face the question of "freedom for"? Freedom for what? The university can neither give them jobs nor make the world over; it can mainly give competent younger persons some glimpse, however dim or temporary, into a world of intellectual order they would not otherwise ever have. I don't see that the Berkeley affair had this object in mind.

Howard Mumford Jones
Center for Advanced Study
in the Behavioral Sciences
Stanford, California

To the Editor: The response to a crisis often tells more about the responder than the crisis. Professors Lipset and Seabury maintain an appearance of detached and descriptive objectivity, but distortion is no less harmful for being conveyed in *The Reporter's* traditional tones of cool reason.

They note, with commendable frankness, many of the genuine grievances of the students. They acknowledge the unjustified restrictions, the administrative blunders, the right-wing pressure, the regents' edict against civil-rights sit-ins, the whole distressing atmosphere of "alienation" amid a mushrooming bureaucracy. They even quote Clark Kerr's prophecy of the unlovable and indefensible thing his multiversity is becoming. But with all this to concern them, their single occasion for lament is the "threat to democracy" represented by the student protesters. "[Many felt that] the use of illegal tactics was part of a conscious effort by extremists to undermine faith in the democratic system. . . . The indifference to legality shown by serious and dedicated students threatens the foundation of democratic order."

Democracy may be threatened as much by bureaucracy, self-defensive,

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arbitrary, omnipotent, and non-responsible, as by student demonstrations. And Red-baiting, at any level, is always open to suspicion. The Free Speech Movement has, by the authors' concession, opened up long-overdue debate on fundamental academic questions; it has succeeded in re-enfranchising student-citizens. To label it Communist-dominated, to drop "Trotskyite" and "Maoist" tags, has a specious and suspiciously reminiscent ring.

It is not democratic order that is threatened, perhaps, but bureaucratic order. And the distortions of response, the insinuations of subversion, may be partly an index of personal distress: the quiet cry of two threatened quasi-bureaucrats over any critical questioning of their established and efficient New Order. I can see no other ready explanation for their gratuitous hints of Communist design.

As for the "poignant future problem" of student trust, students trust their teachers as much as they need to, as much as they ought. The controversy at Berkeley demanded greater, not less, common sense from the faculty, in view of the foolishness of both warring parties. "A divided faculty will not long command respect from its students," we are told. But what, and how desirable, is a united faculty?

I do not, in my political unsophistication, think that the political affiliations of the FSM's Steering Committee represent the issue of our most necessary concern. I frankly think that we are in more danger from the arbitrary and often inexplicable behavior of the bureaucracy the authors convincingly describe and tacitly defend.

DAVID LITTLEJOHN
Department of English
University of California
Berkeley

THE BRACEROS PROBLEM

To the Editor: Congratulations on Mary Ellen Leary's excellent "As the Braceros Leave" (*The Reporter*, January 28). Her report on the current efforts of the U.S. government to replace Mexican braceros is a most clear and fair presentation of a current situation and a future problem.

As you know, this office has been trying to minister for many years to the braceros who have come into the country, while at the same time feeling strongly that their very presence posed economic and social problems for the domestic worker which must one day be solved. While ministering to many of these men, we have personally seen the adverse effects upon wages and working conditions of their presence here. . . . We can not overlook the unfair competition caused by their very availability.

WILLIAM E. SCHOLES
Western Field Director
National Council of the Churches of Christ
Golden, Colorado

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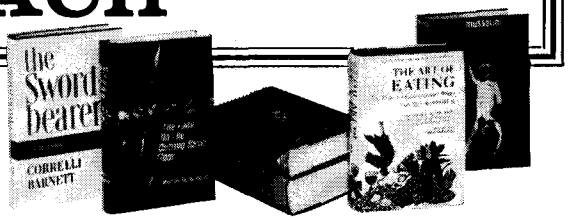

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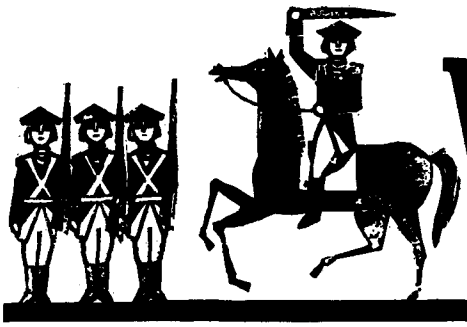

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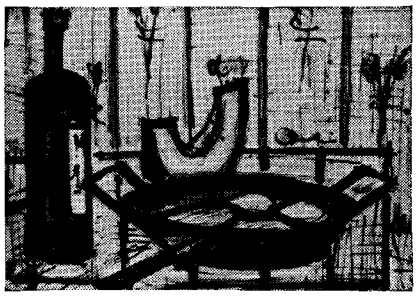

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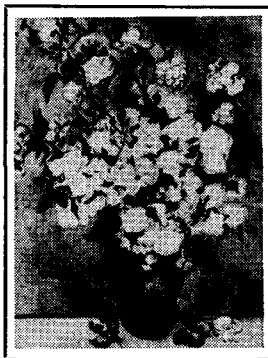

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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

The President's Decision

On February 7, when President Johnson ordered the initial U.S. reprisals against North Vietnam, he met and brilliantly passed his first major test in the field of military and foreign policy. His decision, taken quietly and with the minimum of bureaucratic huddles and alarums, was in effect a deep-going revision of basic U.S. policy: a declaration that the war in South Vietnam, which official Washington had always defined as *their* war, must from now on be *our* war—ours together. The President thereby breached the long, dreary cycle of illusions and indecisions that have crippled our efforts in South Vietnam for the last ten years.

The decision had moral as well as strategic meaning. Indeed, the President's pledge the following day—that "we shall take up any challenge, we shall answer any threat, we shall pay any price" to fulfill our commitment to the free world—made it clear that something more than local military escalation was involved. Implicit in the language and the context in which it was uttered was the promise of decisive leadership in the vast area to the south of China where the nation is already facing perilous tests.

Whatever the unpredictable course of events in South Vietnam, the President will have to begin his work at home. It will not be easy for him to shed the makeshift policies and cross-purposes inherited from the two preceding administrations. At his press conference three days before the attack on Pleiku, the President cited a ten-year-old letter of General Eisenhower by way of emphasizing that our basic policy in South Vietnam was still to "help the people of Vietnam help themselves." The war, as of then, was still their war.

The text was appropriate, for the policy was clearly fathered by Eisenhower's campaign slogan of 1952: "If there must be a war there, let it be Asians against Asians, with our support on the side of freedom." Its latest spawn was the mercifully short-lived idea after Pleiku to launch reprisals for attacks on American installations only. Little wonder that our allies, east and west, began to question the American resolution and purpose.

Then, too, there is the long-standing delusion that grand strategy in this part of the world can be a matter of simple arithmetic, the adding up of small "situations of strength." As a result, we have had—in Laos and Vietnam, in Thailand and Indonesia—a kind of piecemeal, in-and-out, off-and-on-again diplomacy. At times our right hand has hardly seemed to know what our left was doing. Without a coherent regional policy, we have too often become the victims of and finally the participants in local politics.

And finally there is the most pernicious illusion of all: that nuclear stalemate must somehow lead to nuclear brotherhood and a loyal Soviet-American collaboration in defense of the peace. In the name of caution and common sense, we are asked to overlook the very values which entitle us to claim leadership of the free world. This notion has flourished sporadically ever since Khrushchev's visit to Camp David. With the Sino-Soviet split and the Chinese bomb, it has gained a new and larger lease on public attention. The New York *Times,* which in October, 1962, hailed Khrushchev for his co-operation in the Cuban crisis—"a statesman-like decision and . . . important contribution to peace"—has now discovered a new area of "common interests" between Moscow and Washington. In a lead editorial on February 7, the day after Premier Kosygin's arrival in Hanoi, the *Times* concluded: "Perhaps it can be said of Russia in Vietnam: 'The enemy of my enemy is my friend.'"

To clear away the debris of a decade is a long-term job. But a beginning, at least, can now be made in Vietnam. The enemy began by choosing the course of escalation. Just who made this decision—whether Hanoi, Peking, Moscow, or some Byzantine triangulation of the three—is no longer very important. Encouraged by the increasing signs of divided counsels and uncertain purpose in Saigon and Washington, they are all of them in a rush to force us to the conference table as quickly as possible. To accept their schedule, however—and there are many, including some leaders of the President's own party, who are urging this course—would be to court a double defeat: first by proving to China's "revolutionary" clients in Africa and Asia that we are indeed the no-account paper tiger it has claimed we are; second by helping the Johnny-come-lately negotiators from Moscow to demonstrate to their "progressive" clients that "peaceful coexistence" always pays —for the Soviet Union.

With such pitfalls in view, it must not be our part to match the Communist escalation. The risks are very great, but so are the stakes. Our first aim must be to achieve, inside or outside South Vietnam, whatever strength is necessary to determine the timing and the course of the negotiations which will one day be in order.

—PHILIP HORTON

The Pipeline Pretzel

It may not be clear to persons residing outside Washington that when there is a new administration, the change-over in columnists is an operation of infinitely more complexity than the change-over, say, in military and civilian personnel. By early last spring, for example, it had finally become part of the cap-

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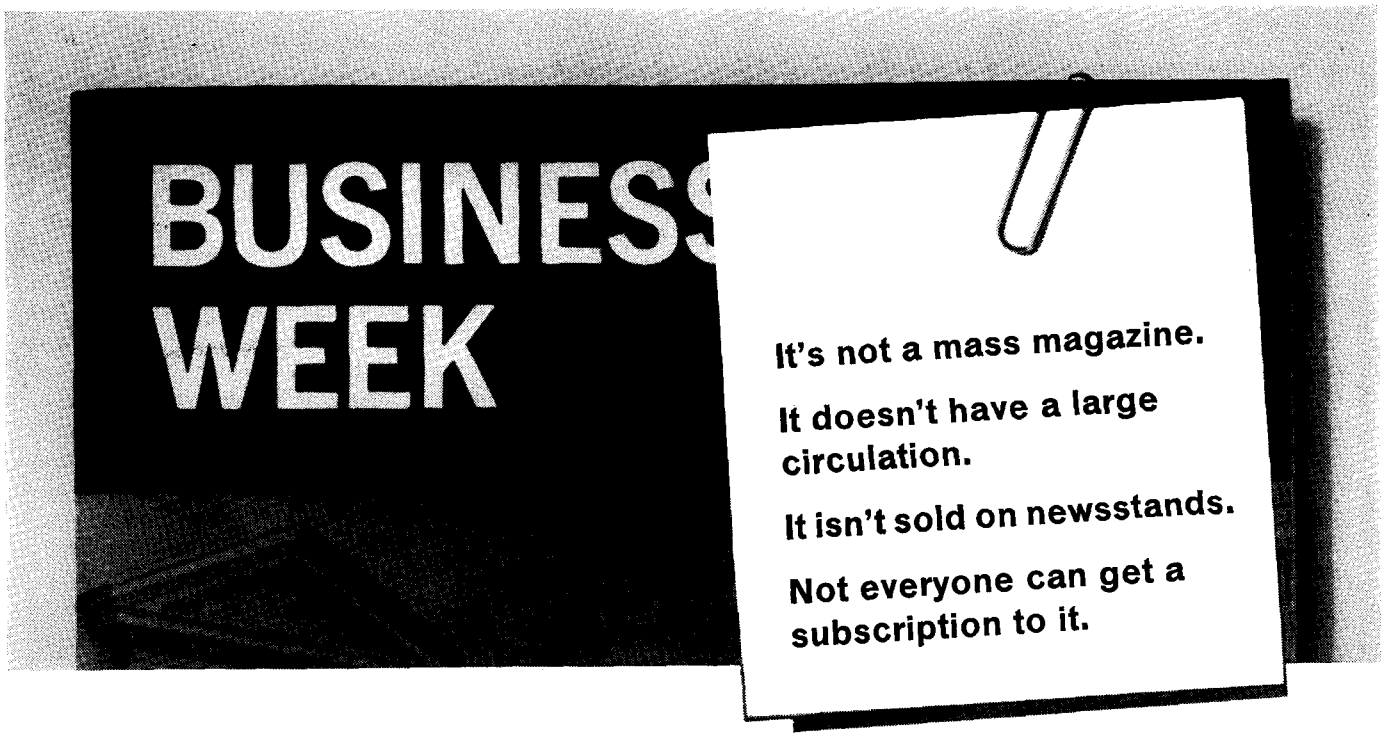
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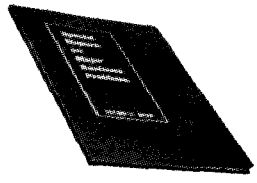

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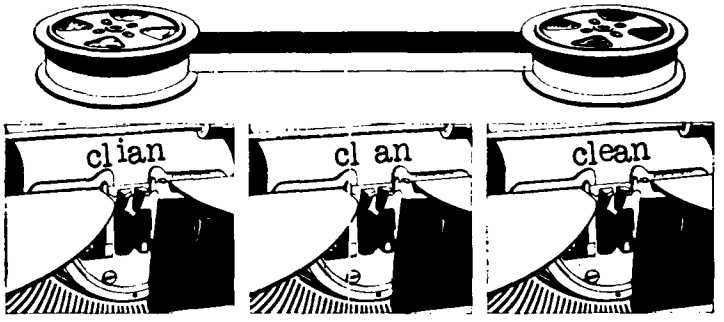

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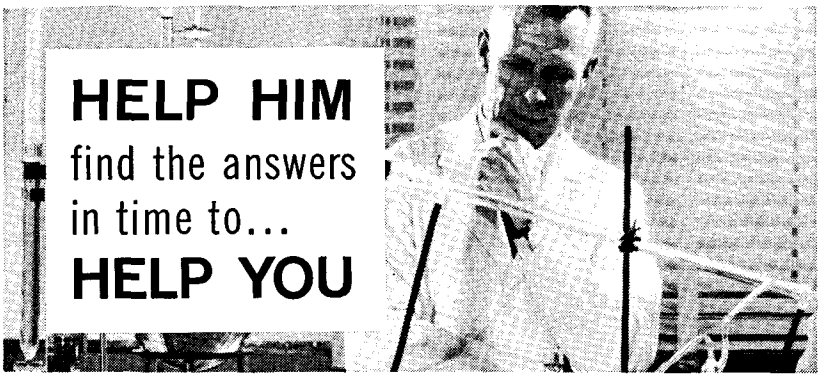

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ital's established wisdom that the new voices from on high were those of Drew Pearson and William S. White. For that reason, when White delivered himself of a tightly, not to say testily, argued column one day as to why anyone fitting the description of Hubert H. Humphrey would be an unfortunate candidate for the vice-presidency, all bets were off. Subsequent events, which need not be gone into, threw the city into unparalleled confusion which was to be compounded by Pearson's blistering attack upon Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia for not taking part in Lyndon B. Johnson's Presidential campaign. So much for the future of the senator's relationship with the President—it was thought. But soon Pearson took to excoriating LBJ for not excoriating the senator.

We go into all this because in the past few weeks the turmoil has reached new heights which, as we understand it, can only be formulated as follows: if Evans and Novak said that the State Department was dissatisfied with Dean Rusk, were they reflecting the views of someone with access to the President, or did their attack on Mayor Wagner mean that they are agents of Bobby Kennedy, whose former deputy Nicholas deB. Katzenbach was appointed Attorney General by President Johnson over the protests of Drew Pearson who thinks that Katzenbach is following a line which has dangers for the administration in Pearson's view, not to mention the view of William S. White, who, at the height of the to-do over the President's failure to send Humphrey to Churchill's funeral, explained that unnamed persons with "sharp and avid teeth" meant to drive a wedge between Humphrey and Johnson? If the answer to this question is "Yes," then how explain the usually friendly Doris Fleeson's recent observation that "There have been no honeyed words poured into agriculture's shell-pink ear. Its lot so far consists of unfriendly emanations from White House sources, some of which bear a distinct resemblance to the bearish grumblings of Ezra Taft Benson"? Whose side is she on?

We hope we have clarified for you the situation that is troubling

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Wanted: Love For In Sun

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You or your group can become a Foster Parent of a needy child. You will be sent the case history and photo of your "adopted" child and letters from the child himself. Correspondence is translated by PLAN. The child knows who you are. At once he is touched by love and a sense of belonging. Your pledge provides new clothing, blankets, education and medical care, as well as a cash grant of $8.00 every month. Each child receives full measure of material aid from your contribution. Distribution of goods is supervised by PLAN staff and is insured against loss in every country where PLAN operates. **Help in the responsible way. "Adopt" a child through Foster Parents' Plan. Let some child love you.**

PLAN is a non-political, non-profit, nonsectarian, government-approved, independent relief organization, registered under No. VFA-019 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid of the Agency for International Development of the United States Government and filed with the National Information Bureau in New York City. **Check your charity—we eagerly offer our financial statement on request because we are so proud of the handling of our funds.** PLAN helps children in Italy, Greece, South Korea, Viet Nam, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Colombia and Ecuador.

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the capital. In Washington people read newspaper columns the way other people read letters they have steamed open. The difficulty at the moment is that no one can be sure whether he is reading letters to or from the President—which, as any snoop worthy of the name can testify, makes all the difference.

Of Pots and Kettles

Following is the text of a letter to the newly elected majority leader of the New York State Senate that was not written by U.S. Senator Robert F. Kennedy, although it bears certain superficial resemblances to the one he did write:

Dear Senator Zaretzki,

It has come to my attention that in the days since you and Mayor Wagner pulled the rug out from under me, you guys have been giving out jobs to people who were on your side rather than on my side in the recent contest to see who could get control of the state legislature. Shame on you, Senator Zaretzki! Frankly, I have not seen a more flagrant use of political patronage since 1961 when some segregationists were appointed Federal judges in the Deep South on the advice of the then Attorney General of the United States.

Since this is a state matter which I had planned to have taken care of for me by my friends in the legislature, I had hoped to remain uninvolved. But I see that you are unwilling to play the game according to my rules, Senator Zaretzki, and so I have no choice but to come out loud and clear against cheap ward-level politicking. What we need up there in Albany is a high-class talent search like the one my brothers-in-law and I ran a few years back to put the Harvard faculty on the Federal payroll. Steve and Sarge know more about how to get a dollar's worth of votes for a dollar's worth of patronage than you ribbon clerks will ever know.

And just keep one thing in mind, Zaretzki—things could be very different a year from now, and my brothers-in-law and I all have very good memories.

Yours for party unity,
A FRIEND

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Even if you know all about Turkey, Hamilton Fish, FDR, the Navaho Indians, archaeology, Pope Paul, Stan Musial, oceanography, and Robert Goulet,

television can still teach you a thing or two in March.

Telephone Hour
Starring Robert Goulet, Eydie Gorme and Mildred Miller.
Tuesday, March 2 (10-11 PM)

FDR
Strife; The Blue Eagle; That Man in the White House; Rendezvous with Destiny.
Fridays, March 5, 12, 19, 26 (9:30-10 PM)

Turkish Islam, Vestige or Revival
Attitudes of Turkish citizens towards Islam, which was once the state religion.
Sunday, March 7 (10-10:30 AM)

The Twentieth Century
The Navahos and Annie Wauneka; Taming the Mekong; The Warsaw Uprising; The Farmer.
Sundays, March 7, 14, 21, 28 (6-6:30 PM)

World War I
The Tide Turns; Battle of the Argonne; The Armistice; Wilson and Peace.
Sundays, March 7, 14, 21, 28 (6:30-7 PM)

Profiles in Courage
Hamilton Fish; Charles Evans Hughes; Edmund Ross; George W. Norris.
Sundays, March 7, 14, 21, 28 (6:30-7:30 PM)

The Pope and the Vatican
The Roman Catholic Church under the leadership of Pope Paul VI.
Tuesday, March 9 (10-11 PM)

Grand Award of Sports
Ceremonies in honor of the outstanding athletic stars of 1964 in sixteen sports categories.
Wednesday, March 10 (9:30-11 PM)

The Bold Men
The story of people who defy death for science, money, fun and danger. Van Heflin narrates.
Saturday, March 13 (7:30-8:30 PM)

National Invitational Basketball Tournament
From Madison Square Garden, New York City.
Saturdays, March 13 and 20 (3-5 PM)

Dinah Shore Special
Musical-variety with Bob Hope and Henry Mancini.
Wednesday, March 17 (8:30-9:30 PM)

Impeachment
Drama about attempted impeachment of a state governor. Starring Dan O'Herlihy.
Thursday, March 18 (10-11 PM)

Man Invades the Sea
Documents man's future life in the ocean's depths, including films of experiments in which men have lived and worked underwater.
Thursday, March 18 (10-11 PM)

Inter-American Highway: Bridge of the Americas
Natural wonders, archaeological sites and modern cities are highlighted in a 3,000-mile journey.
Tuesday, March 23 (10-11 PM)

Hour of Excellence: World Champion Cardinals
The history of the baseball team, and projections for 1965. With Stan Musial.
Sunday, March 28 (4:30-5 PM)

Regularly Scheduled Programs

Monday to Friday: Today/Captain Kangaroo/Sunrise Semester

Mondays: CBS Reports

Tuesdays: That Was the Week That Was

Wednesdays: ABC Scope

Saturdays: Sunrise Semester/Mr. Mayor/Exploring/Wide World of Sports/Mr. Magoo

Sundays: Lamp Unto My Feet/Look Up and Live/Bullwinkle/Camera Three/Discovery/Face the Nation/Watch Mr. Wizard/Directions/Issues and Answers/Frontiers of Faith/Sports Spectacular/Sunday/Alumni Fun/Sports in Action/Science All Stars/Wild Kingdom/College Bowl/Meet the Press/Walt Disney

NOTE: Times, programs, titles, and casts are subject to change. Please consult local listings.

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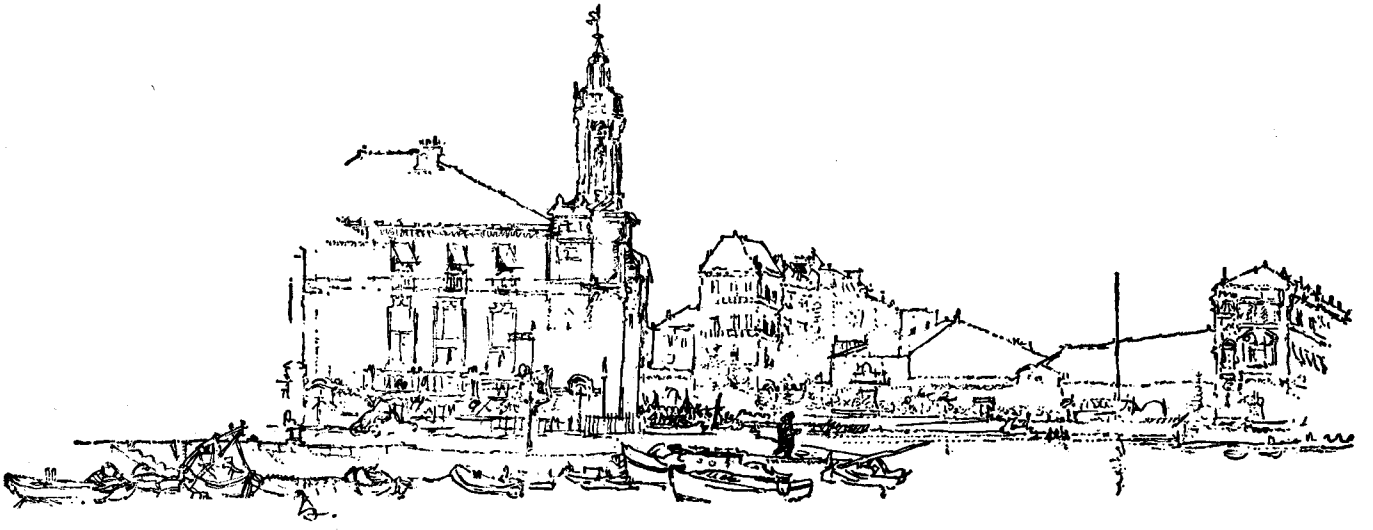

De Gaulle, Europe, and the Dollar

EDMOND TAYLOR

PARIS

PRESIDENT DE GAULLE'S press conference of February 4 was at the same time the most provocative and the most serene of the eleven he has given since becoming president in 1959. Even before he had finished speaking, gold-mining shares had shot up on the leading stock exchanges of the West and so had blood pressures in several of its chancelleries. No doubt de Gaulle hopes that he will some day see the reform of the United Nations and the return to the gold standard in international settlements, but he sounded more concerned with restoring certain traditional western standards of statecraft and with checking the inflation of wishful thinking about human affairs that he appears to regard as a major vice of our age. As in the past, the immediate effect of his pronouncements has been to stimulate discussion of fundamental issues.

De Gaulle was careful to avoid any blanket indictment of the institutions and ideals of co-operation between nations that the exigencies of common survival have brought into being since the world's "time of great misfortunes" began in 1914. He even voiced a modest pride in his own contribution to the framing of the U.N. Charter in 1945. France, he indicated, deplored the present crisis in the General Assembly and hoped that it would be possible to save "an institution in which the world had put so much hope, for furthering the solidarity and progress of all mankind."

OF COURSE, de Gaulle warned, to be saved the U.N. must be restored to its original concept, with the General Assembly as a forum of nations "in which a kind of international opinion could take shape," and with a Security Council in which the major powers could periodically "meet and even, perhaps, collaborate for the maintenance of peace." The illusion must be abandoned that the U.N. could grow into a world government or parliament, for "in our century this world government and parliament cannot exist except in our dreams." Similar unrealistic expectations had helped to ruin the League of Nations, which had tried to exist and function by "extolling its own ideals, especially when it concerned the theoretical condemnation of war." The founders of the League had aimed too high, "men being men, and states being states." When the crucial tests against Japanese, Italian, and German imperialism came, the League proved incapable of action—"that is to say, determination, commitment, and risk."

Some French and foreign observers felt that de Gaulle's proposal for breaking the impasse in the General Assembly by convoking a five-power conference in Geneva to which Communist China would be invited was fully as unrealistic as many of the practices or attitudes he had himself criticized. The growing violence and recklessness of Communist Chinese subversion in Africa, recently denounced by several French-speaking West African governments, certainly points up the risks in his proposals. Seating Peking in the Security Council—seemingly a major objective of the proposed Geneva conference—would only make resistance to Chinese subversion in Africa more difficult.

De Gaulle attempted no direct answer to this objection, which applies more or less to his whole China policy. He evidently believes that shearing the General Assembly of what he considers the organization's usurped powers, curbing the authority of the Secretary General, and giving up all efforts to evade great-power veto of any action by the Security Council would limit Red China's capabilities for mischief within the U.N. itself, and would protect the more developed

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members from any demagogic excesses of the Assembly's unruly majority. To the underdeveloped "Third World," of which he has prematurely been hailed as the champion, he offered only a continued emphasis on the importance of economic aid for development.

"It seems paradoxical," complained Jean Schwoebel in *Le Monde*, "that the man who has done the most to shake the 'double hegemony' [of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.] and who has thereby acquired considerable influence and prestige in the four corners of the planet should be the same one who today claims for the U.N. Big Five a monopoly of the right of intervention and repression. . . . In reality [de Gaulle's] proposal for a five-power conference corresponds exactly to his concept of an international community whose affairs would be managed by an aristocracy of reasonable and responsible nations."

It seems even more paradoxical, however, that the man who sets such great store on rationality and responsibility as preconditions for the exercise of world power should think that an invitation to an international conference would transform the rulers of Communist China into rational and responsible world statesmen. The explanation may be that de Gaulle's proposal was intended to camouflage and mitigate as far as possible the humiliating new western retreat from Asia which he apparently considers inevitable.

Back to Bullion

De Gaulle's call for a general return to the gold standard, despite its apparent oversimplifications, was perhaps the most complex part of his press conference, and from the ideological viewpoint the most far-reaching. Like his famous "ultimatum" last year on bringing farm products into the Common Market, de Gaulle's attack on the international supremacy of the dollar and the pound was intended to force a necessary and overdue decision on monetary reforms. The reaction throughout Western Europe makes it clear that France's Common Market partners —especially West Germany and the Netherlands—sympathize with some of the reasons for the French president's somewhat brutal attack on the problem.

One leading European authority, Dr. Hermann J. Abs, president of the Deutsche Bank and an adviser to Chancellor Ludwig Erhard, even indicated in a speech at Erlangen in West Germany that he agreed with President de Gaulle's charge that U.S. dollar balances held abroad are facilitating the American business invasion of Europe. Dr. Abs likewise endorsed France's recent decision to convert part of its dollar reserves into gold, saying that perhaps it might make the United States stop and think about improving its balance-of-payments situation before introducing legislation to reduce the dollar's gold backing. Few European experts, however, appear ready to go the whole way with de Gaulle in calling for a straight return to the gold standard to replace the present so-called gold-exchange standard. (Under this system, the dollar and the pound are considered equivalent to gold for a number of international purposes and are held along with gold as backing for many other currencies throughout the world.) Quite a few Europeans are also uneasy about de Gaulle's evident intent to apply continuing pressure against the dollar—at some risk to the French economy if necessary—to force Washington into a settlement of the monetary, economic, and perhaps even political issues outstanding between the two countries.

President de Gaulle set no deadlines for ending what he termed the dominance of the dollar in a Europe that has recovered its economic strength; world conditions, he said, allowed time for examining the problem with "serenity and objectivity." In other words, he doesn't expect to see his long-term objective —substitution of the gold standard for the present gold-exchange standard—put into practice tomorrow. What he does demand immediately is some effective action by the United States government to curb the flow of American capital abroad, which on the one hand is upsetting our international balance of payments and on the other is fostering the invasion of American business that in certain countries has amounted to a "kind of expropriation" of national industries.

THE BLUNTNESS of de Gaulle's attacks on Washington's balance-of-payments policy, or lack of it, contrasted with the detached and doctoral tone of most of his other remarks. Following on the heels of the recent French decision to convert part of the nation's dollar reserves into gold, de Gaulle's swipes

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at the solidity of the dollar and particularly his exaltation of the virtues of gold—"universally and eternally unchanging, without nationality, indifferently convertible into ingots or coins"—amounted to a warning to the U.S. Treasury. Whether France has the power to maintain effective pressure on the dollar is a moot point among European experts. The likeliest view expressed in financial circles here is that neither de Gaulle nor anyone else could menace a dollar based on a healthy economy and a sober balance-of-payments policy. On the other hand, the same experts think that a dollar abandoned to some combination of economic faddism, global do-goodism, and administrative drift and dither would become vulnerable with a rapidity that few Americans realize is possible. It was not the least of de Gaulle's policy paradoxes that his shots at the dollar seemed deliberately aimed at scaring its official guardians into defending it more vigorously.

Everything de Gaulle said about the dollar and U.S. financial policy applied even more to the pound and to the Labour government's efforts to save it from bankruptcy. Out of diplomatic rather than philosophical reasons—probably influenced by Wilson's recent decision to reconsider his reconsideration of the joint project to develop the supersonic Concorde aircraft—de Gaulle tried to be as tactful as he could about Britain's troubles, and even awarded his lesser Anglo-Saxon allies a kind of verbal certificate as honorary Europeans. But in running up the gold standard as the pennant of France's monetary policy, he gave the pound a ruder shock than the dollar.

An Intellectual Antidote

However disagreeable or hazardous de Gaulle's now familiar technique of diplomatic shock therapy may seem to the patient (or victim), its results in recent years on balance have usually been positive. One need not always approve of de Gaulle's prescriptions to feel that he has rendered a service to the world in calling attention to the dangers that the gold-exchange standard sometimes fosters. But in apparently taking gold not merely as a gauge of the intellectual integrity and moral courage all governments should practice but also as the literal source of all riches and the only honest medium of international settlements, de Gaulle, many European economists fear, may be preaching a dangerous doctrine. Since there is not enough gold being produced in the world to keep up with its constantly expanding economic activity, it is argued that any agreement for a general return to gold would entail as its corollary a revalorization of gold in terms of the leading paper currencies that would be as inflationary, if not more so, as the gold-exchange standard is alleged to be—besides giving an undeserved bonus to South Africa and the Soviet Union, the two great producers of gold.

Though de Gaulle hedged his proposal in several ways—notably by admitting the need for special credit arrangements during a transition period, and by referring to gold transfers between "one monetary zone and another" rather than between nations—a number of his listeners at the conference came away disturbed. They fear that he has made up his mind to reject the various suggestions for some kind of new international reserve currency that have thus far been put forward, including one advanced by his own finance minister at the Tokyo meeting of the International Monetary Fund last September. Instead, he apparently has espoused the classical gold-standard creed preached by Jacques Rueff, a former deputy governor of the Bank of France who directed the French stabilization program of 1958. In essence, Rueff's approach is to eliminate the current gold-exchange standard and return to the orthodox gold standard "that does not tend to favor prolonged balance-of-payments deficits in countries with key currencies." De Gaulle's interest in raising the issue, however, may chiefly have been as a kind of intellectual antidote to some of the currently fashionable utopian thinking he finds so pernicious.

Though he only occasionally lapsed into sarcasm, de Gaulle from the beginning to the end of his press conference went out of his way to expose the economic or social double-think and the political or diplomatic doubletalk that often confuse contemporary public life. What he had to say was more than anything else a magisterial reflection on history. A little less biting than on former occasions, a little more benign, his periods were not only as majestic as always but also as lucid. Those critics who rejected his economic philosophy were nevertheless surprised and impressed by the mastery of the dismal science implicit in his discourse. It seemed not so much the journalists present whom he was trying to instruct as his colleagues in the seats of power around the world, and perhaps those of times to come.

THE PRESENT and future rulers of the Communist orbit received their share of admonishment. Communism, de Gaulle acknowledged, had succeeded in creating a mighty apparatus of production, especially in heavy industry, but at the cost of gigantic wastage, and thanks to "frenzied propaganda and implacable constraints." The people obliged to "vegetate under these egoistic and archaic methods" were condemned to an existence that was "constantly menaced, or at the very least morose, colorless, and without savor."

Next for critical attention came the folklore of laissez-faire capitalism, recently dusted off and decorated with a few twentieth-century trimmings by the anti-Gaullist majority in the Conseil National du Patronat Français, the French NAM. The Gaullist version of the Great Society, de Gaulle explained, rejected with equal contempt "the mirage of an economy without rules" and "the champions of subversion" whose siren songs of tomorrow "would lull to sleep a society divested of profit and competition."

The economic philosophy of Gaullism, as the least orthodox of French Gaullists outlined it, seeks to reconcile free enterprise and social justice. But, the general explained, glancing down benignly at the front row of the government section at Premier Georges Pompidou, a liberal Gaullist, and Minister of Culture André Malraux, a standard-bearer of what is sometimes termed left-wing Gaullism, "parity in progress is not possible." Pausing briefly to let the implications of the statement soak in, he added: "Indeed, this kind of parity is undesirable because it would be disastrous to suppress the incentive of emulation."

President de Gaulle's own pet

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dream of a confederation of European states did not seem to emerge wholly unscathed from the remorseless realism of its inventor. At one point he referred to "the six nations which, let us hope, are in the process of establishing the economic community of Western Europe"—a guardedly optimistic evaluation of a historical development that the newspaper headlines commonly assume to be almost accomplished. De Gaulle went on even more guardedly to envisage, as one of the conditions for German reunification, the possibility that the Six ultimately "must succeed in organizing themselves in the political domain as well as in that of defense."

De Gaulle's extreme caution in assessing the prospect for Western European unification does not, so far as is known, imply any repudiation of his often proclaimed dedication to its cause. Indeed he dropped a hint, if a cloudy one, of France's willingness to collaborate with its partners in creating a common European currency, or at least the basis for one, that might serve as the model for a more general monetary reform. If any significant step in that direction were actually to be taken, it would be a major landmark in the progress of Western European economic integration.

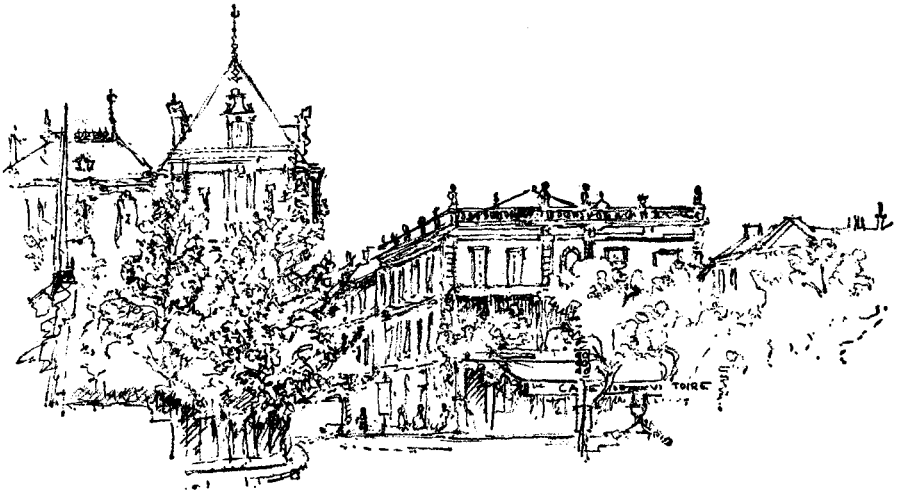
Underlying de Gaulle's tepid allusions to European unity can be discerned—in addition to the reaction against accepted political illusion that colored the entire press conference—the belief in the nation-state as the fundamental unit of history which de Gaulle has never abandoned, and the likewise familiar but newly stressed goal of a greater Europe "from the Atlantic to the Urals."

Policy or Dream?

From every viewpoint, the most controversial elements in the conference were contained in de Gaulle's analysis of the German problem. Here more than anywhere else, the negative aspects of his world outlook seem to have dominated. Virtually every hope or strategy for achieving German reunification that has been put forward, from John Foster Dulles's dream of rolling back Communism without war to Stalin's dream of steamrolling western democracy to the Lippmannesque doctrine of progressive coexistence between the two Germanys, is mercilessly dissected. De Gaulle seemed to take a kind of gloomy relish in emphasizing the "very complex conditions," and long delays involved in the problem of German reunification and in warning his West German partner that its hopes are conditioned by the necessity of reaching agreement on frontiers and armaments with all its neighbors, East and West. Despite the doggedly cheerful tone of part of the German press, it is hard to see how this bleak analysis of the German predicament can give Chancellor Erhard much help with his electoral problems, as it was presumably intended to do.

Perhaps the most plausible interpretation of de Gaulle's German policy—or dream—yet advanced is that of Jacques Nobécourt, a well-known French specialist on German problems, writing from Berlin in *Le Monde*. The press conference, according to Nobécourt, was aimed essentially at confronting the West Germans with the choice between reunification under French sponsorship or clinging to American protection and accepting permanent division of their country. In the former case, he wrote, France, which "feels it possesses both the power and the vocation to replace the United States in Europe," would offer its mediation between Germany and the Soviet bloc to achieve unity. If the Germans chose continued U.S. protection, France would reshape its European policy toward alliance with the East and resurrection of the strategic encirclement that was Germany's nightmare before the war.

THERE ARE, it is true, positive features in the picture: the prospect of a Soviet Union converted to real international co-operation, of satellite nations restored to full sovereignty, of an enlarged, fraternal, and rejuvenated Europe. Realization of this dream would be something very different from the simple return to the golden age before Europe's time of troubles that de Gaulle's liberal or Socialist critics accuse him of pursuing. But is all this any more realistic than many of the fashionable chimeras that de Gaulle sought to discredit? His insistence on German reunification as a European problem to be settled by Europeans—presumably including the Soviet Union and excluding the United States—is hard to reconcile with the political or strategic reality of today. In this key passage, the diffuse and restrained anti-American bias lurking beneath the serenity of de Gaulle's words breaks out into the open. From Washington's viewpoint, there is a great deal of food for thought in the whole conference; and getting indignant about it will not help the U.S. to digest it. It was a puzzling conference in many ways, and though de Gaulle said more and said it more brilliantly even than usual, this listener, at least, could not help wondering whether what he left unsaid was not more than ever the most essential part.



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The Ambitious Men of Europe House

EDWARD T. O'TOOLE

STRASBOURG

NOT SINCE the European Parliament held its first meeting in 1952 has there been such journalistic interest in an opening session as there was at Europe House here last month. Correspondents who have come year after year to the six- or seven-week parliament sessions in this Franco-German border city have not often had big news to report. Now there is a feeling that 1965 may be the time of awakening for the legislative branch of Europe's new supranational community.

Although the actual political power wielded by the parliament thus far has been relatively insignificant, its potential is impressive. The parliament is the only means whereby the peoples of Europe might eventually be able to exercise a measure of direct influence over the increasingly powerful executive commissions and ministerial council of the Common Market, the Coal and Steel Community, and Euratom—the three basic organizations that together comprise the European Communities. Thus far the executive groups have been pretty much calling the tune, with the parliament relegated to the role of a Greek chorus. But as the national governments have transferred more of their authority to the community executives, it has become more obvious that the parliament's powers must be expanded if the community is to evolve eventually along lines acceptable to the European governments and peoples involved. The emergence of the community as an economic entity now seems almost certain to take place in 1967, when the customs union and the agricultural union are to be completed. The proposed fusion of the executives, the plans to adopt a common community foreign economic policy, the program for developing common economic planning, including budget harmonization—these are but a few of the many additional reasons why the parliament's repeated demands for a more dynamic role will be pushed with greater vigor.

IT SEEMS CERTAIN that the parliament's representative dimensions at least will be dramatically broadened during the months ahead. For the first time, a Communist bloc is expected to be seated. Hitherto, the

main political movements in Western Europe—Christian Democrats, Socialists, Liberals, and Gaullists—have adhered to an unwritten agreement to keep Communists out of the legislative delegations dispatched to Strasbourg. This year, the Italian Communists can no longer be denied. With twenty-six per cent of the seats in the Italian chamber of deputies, they have demanded a proportionate share of the thirty-six seats occupied by Italian representatives in Europe House. In keeping with parliament's practice, they will be segregated as a political bloc. In Europe House, the representatives sit together according to political affiliation rather than nationality. Some of Europe's leading politicians are included among the 142 parliamentarians appointed by and from their national legislatures on a basis of thirty-six each from West Germany, France, and Italy, fourteen each from Belgium and the Netherlands, and six from Luxembourg.

Evidence that the parliament now expects to play a more important role was manifest in the lively performances of some of its leaders during the session last month. For example, the Public Affairs Committee, guided by Edoardo Martino, an Italian Christian Democrat, submitted a strongly worded resolution calling for the six national governments to stop stalling and hold a summit meeting "at an early date" to solve the problems connected with European political unification. The reaction of the thirty-six Socialists, led by Frau Käte Strobel of Germany, was significant. The Socialists are heavily outnumbered by more than sixty Christian Democrats under Alain Poher, a French senator. (Former French Premier René Pleven heads the

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twenty-five Liberals, while Jacques Vendroux is chief spokesman for fifteen Gaullists.) But what they lack in numbers, the Socialists more than make up in activity. Frau Strobel directed the parliament's attention to the de Gaulle-Erhard conferences then in progress at Rambouillet. European Socialists, she warned, would oppose with all their strength any bilateral agreement that might endanger the multilateral unification of Europe.

While the parliamentarians are free to express themselves in this fashion, the national governments are equally free to ignore their resolutions and opinions. These are usually prepared by the parliamentary committees. Besides holding six or seven sessions each year, the general assembly subdivides itself into an executive committee, thirteen standing committees, and a number of subcommittees that meet more often. Frequently, the committees assign members to prepare studies or undertake information trips. For these and sundry other duties, the average parliamentarian receives a modest stipend from community funds.

Parliament Without Power

But all this activity does not add up to real legislative power. In describing the power structure of the community, a Luxembourgeois politician recently said, "The commissions propose, the ministers dispose, but the powers of the parliament repose." The major community decisions originate with the three executive commissions: the Common Market Commission, the Euratom Commission, and the High Authority, which is the executive commission for the Coal and Steel Community. Commission proposals take on the force of law only after they are translated into decisions by the appropriate cabinet ministers of the member nations. The ministers form themselves into separate councils in reaching the separate decisions required for the three community organizations.

The Common Assembly established by the Treaty of Paris changed its name to the European Parliament in 1962, but it could not change the fact that its political prerogatives were limited to the right to arrange its own calendar of meetings, to be informed and consulted about the plans of the executive commissions, to dismiss the executive commissions by a two-thirds vote of censure, and to propose plans for the direct election of its members. It had no power to legislate, no budgetary power, no power balancing the authority of

the Council of Ministers—in fact, none of the meaningful political power normally invested in democratic national legislatures.

In 1960, for example, the parliament submitted a plan for its members to be elected directly instead of indirectly by national assemblies. Direct election would immeasurably enhance both the prestige and the power of parliament, but since it would also tend to dilute the power concentrated in the ministerial councils, the ministers have been sitting on the plan for almost five years.

In its dealings with the executive commissions, however, the parliament has been able to exert a bit more leverage. Although it never has suggested dismissing any of the three administrative bodies, the community executives know that the legislators have this power.

Over the years, the parliamentarians have fashioned another more realistic device for applying pressure to the executive commissions. Along with making their views known in the form of resolutions, they have the right to submit questions to the executives, either in writing or orally. The executives are under no legal obligation to reply, but all questions that remain unanswered for more than a month are published in the communities' official gazette. None of the 130 or so questions posed thus far have failed to elicit replies.

Recently, anti-Gaullist French politicians in the general assembly have been indirectly aiming their interrogations in the parliament at the French government. Emile Vanrullen, a sixty-one-year-old French Socialist, several months ago directed Question 96 to the Euratom Commission. Vanrullen asked what effect the French *force de frappe* would have on the community's optimum use of its nuclear resources for peaceful purposes. Pierre Chatenet, the president of the Euratom Commission, replied that that body was not in a position to determine whether France's military use of nuclear resources was incompatible with the community's peaceful needs and goals. Vanrullen was not to be put off. In January he sent back Question 123: "Does the Euratom Commission feel it can completely ignore the creation of a nuclear deterrent by one of the member states and all the implications this will have for the utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful ends?"

In a private discussion of Vanrullen's tactics, an Italian Socialist commented approvingly: "Of course Chatenet cannot win. The Euratom Commission cannot avoid a direct answer. If it attempts to stall again, the Socialist group simply will persist. If the commission refuses to answer at all, the Socialists might be moved to introduce a motion of censure. Either way, you can rest assured that this year General de Gaulle's 'bombette' is going to be openly debated in the parliament."

Into the Spotlight

Other forces also have been building that will push the parliament into the European spotlight in 1965. One of the most powerful pressures has been created by the historic farm-policy decisions reached in the Common Market Council of Ministers in mid-December. The ministerial agreement to establish a single farm system for the community by 1967 also provides for the construction of a common tariff wall to protect community farmers from cheaper farm imports from nonmember countries. At the same time, the importation of industrial goods also will be subject to common external duties.

No one knows how much revenue will be raised by the common ex-

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ternal tariffs. Present estimates vary from half a billion dollars over the short term to several billion dollars annually in the more distant future, depending on who is doing the estimating and for what purpose. But there is general agreement that the sum will be huge and that it will flow into a fund which will be administered collectively by the community.

The question of how this fund is to be controlled is certain to arouse considerable controversy. One of the most jealously guarded of all parliamentary prerogatives on the national level is detailed budgetary control. But in the European Parliament, budgetary control of any kind has been virtually nonexistent, since the national governments have exercised individual control of all significant income and expenditures. But presumably from 1967 onward, all this will be changed by the existence of the community fund administered at Brussels. The delegates in Europe House are almost unanimously agreed that unless the European Parliament is given budgetary power over the fund, the 180 million citizens of the Common Market countries will be deprived of a voice in determining how a big slice of their resources will be spent.

The Dutch national parliament has already served notice on the Netherlands government that when the Common Market Council of Ministers takes up the financial issue this spring, there must be no agreement that does not make provisions for *a priori* budgetary control by the European Parliament. Furthermore, at last month's Strasbourg meetings, the Dutch Socialist Hendrikus Vredeling, vice-president of the parliament's Agriculture Committee, said he expected the Common Market Commission's financial proposals to be ready by April 1. He added that he had the personal assurance of Dr. Sicco L. Mansholt, vice-president of the commission and the community's chief farm expert, that the proposals would make provision for parliamentary control.

VREDELING, a relentless interrogator of the Mansholt team in Brussels, believes that a clash with the parliament's Gaullists over the expansion of the assembly's powers is inevitable this year. Thus far, French Foreign Minister Maurice Couve de Murville has been able to block parliament's expansion simply by saying, "There is no provision for this development in the treaties." "But things are going to be different this year," Vredeling said recently. "Parliament can say now that the French desire for a common agricultural policy before 1970 also is not in the treaties. Nor is the acceleration of the customs union or the pooling of funds. But if France wants a common farm policy, then she must compromise on parliamentary powers. Otherwise, there will be no financial regulation, and without a financial regulation the common agricultural policy cannot function. If the Dutch ministers were to ignore the mandate of the Dutch parliament on the financial regulation, the ministers would be committing political suicide back home."

The Dutch are not alone in their insistence on recognition of the parliament. Last June, Jean Monnet's influential Action Committee for the United States of Europe published a position paper endorsing "the increase of the powers of the European Parliament in the budgetary field, requested by the parliament itself and proposed by the German and Dutch governments."

The Monnet group also endorsed "the proposals made by the Italian government on broadly similar lines to that of the European Parliament, for the election of half the members of the European Parliament by direct suffrage, the other half continuing to be chosen by the national parliament, and the total number of members of the Parliament being doubled. Thus a direct link would be established between the peoples of Europe and the European institutions, and that which at present exists between the European Parliament and the national parliaments would be maintained."

The positions of the Monnet Committee often are well in advance of those acceptable to Paris, but at least one of its long-standing proposals has unanimous support: "fusion, as already agreed by the six governments, of the High Authority and the Common Market and Euratom Commissions into a single European Commission." Even the most ardent French nationalists agree that this proposed administrative centralization, supported by the French government, would make the community dangerously topheavy unless it is accompanied by balancing changes in other community institutions. However, if the Elysée Palace has prepared a blueprint for the new design, it has yet to make it public.

There is no mystery over the parliament's own views concerning the way its powers can be expanded. Fundamentally, the parliamentarians want to supplement their consultative functions with full-fledged legislative powers. Their demands are by no means new, but the climate of last month's meeting in Strasbourg suggests that the parliament leaders are going to push for them harder than ever before.

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Latin Labor's Alarming Christians

GLADYS DELMAS

MEXICO CITY

IN ONE OF the last acts of his administration, President López Mateos ceremoniously opened the John F. Kennedy Housing Development—$10 million worth of buildings paid for by a loan from the pension and welfare funds of the AFL-CIO to the Printing Trades Union of Mexico City. Here some three thousand union members who have been saving about a dollar a week for seven years—a goodly sum in Mexican terms, but barely enough to buy the land even with government help—will at last find a decent home in a garden suburb. The union itself voted to name its village for the American President, something new on the part of a sector almost professionally anti-Yankee.

The agency that engineered this new departure in aid loans is the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), a private, nonprofit organization set up in June, 1962, with George Meany as president, Peter Grace, head of W. R. Grace & Company, as chairman of the board, and Serafino Romualdi, a labor leader with long experience in Latin America, as executive director and guiding spirit. Support comes from the AFL-CIO, from employers interested in aiding social development in Latin America, and from the U.S. government through the Agency for International Development (AID). The original emphasis was on the training of promising labor leaders in order to strengthen democratic unions in the hemisphere. Shortly, however, at the urging of the Labor Advisory Committee of the Alliance for Progress, it got into the housing and banking business and other "social projects."

ONE OF THE favorite Latin-American criticisms of the Alliance for Progress is that it has generated nothing new. This is not true of AIFLD, which works directly with local unions and draws the major part of its financing from the pension and welfare funds of the AFL-CIO, with the guarantee of AID. For the American unions, it is not a bad investment—5.25 per cent interest with a capital guaranty. For the Latin-American unions, it is a low-interest capital windfall in a region where capital is scarce. But AIFLD is not simply a moneybags. Apart from launching other housing projects in many Latin-American countries, it provides expert advice and assistance. In Honduras, for instance, AIFLD experts redesigned the union's building plans and managed to provide twenty per cent more living space at twenty-five per cent less cost. In Mexico they have been working with the new homeowners, most of whom come from slums, helping them organize committees to deal with such problems as maintenance and schools. In Peru last summer, they were instrumental in setting up a savings and loan association, the first in Latin America exclusively for workers. Through its agency, various unions have been authorized as distributive outlets for Food for Peace.

AIFLD's educational program is perhaps more open to criticism. It is based on premises which are not yet completely accepted either by management or labor in the United States, and the effectiveness of which in the more primitive Latin-American power structure can be attacked by both. As Romualdi defines them:

"The old concept of confining organized labor's role to matters pertaining to wages and working conditions and, above all, fighting the employer, is being supplanted by the new concept of labor as a full-fledged partner in a national society, able to work constructively with the government as well as with the employer, offering to both of them its own contribution towards making social and economic progress feasible and obtainable. . . ."

Thus it is not simply training in administration, labor legislation, and

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collective-bargaining procedures that the Institute offers, but indoctrination in a certain concept of society. The presence on the board of directors of Peter Grace and Charles Brinckerhoff, president of Anaconda —both symbols of "imperialism" in South America—makes some labor people hold up their hands in horror. But so far there is no evidence at all that any union leader so trained has sold out to management. On the contrary, in Peru, several businessmen, faced with Institute alumni more knowledgeable than themselves in labor matters, inquired whether they could take the course too. The answer of course was "No." The peaceable kingdom is not yet that peaceable.

Educating the Organizers

AIFLD at present operates resident schools, providing eight- to ten-week courses, in half a dozen countries. In others, seminars of a week or two are held periodically, reaching to date some six thousand students. The best of these—some hundred-odd a year—are then sent on to AIFLD's school in Washington for a twelve-week course at a higher level. From there, some go on to study American labor unions in action; others are sent to Europe to visit various international labor headquarters. And the most promising are then contracted for nine months to work full time in organizational activities in their own country.

These educational facilities are a valuable auxiliary for our labor attachés who for years have been doing a lonely and largely unheralded job. In Latin America many of them, particularly since the Kennedy administration, are labor leaders themselves. They speak not only the language of the country but also that of their local "brothers." And not only are they a shrewd source of information about what is brewing beneath the surface, but their influence is often greater than that of conventional diplomats. Thanks to AIFLD, the labor attaché can now offer distressed and inquiring unionists practical training geared to immediate needs.

When it comes to training labor leaders, however, the purely American AIFLD is by no means the first in the field. The international democratic labor movement, as represented by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the various International Trade Secretariats (known in labor jargon as the ITSes), have been in the business on a world-wide scale ever since 1949. The American arm of the ICFTU, the ORIT, was set up in 1951. Its name is Spanish (Organización Regional Interamericana de

Trabajadores), since its activities largely concern Latin America—although its biggest and wealthiest affiliate is, of course, the AFL-CIO.

Immediately on its foundation, ORIT set up a labor-leadership training course at the University of Puerto Rico, but later decided that it was cheaper and more effective to organize seminars on the spot. Some thousand have been held to date, while the Puerto Rican program has continued under the aegis of various American agencies. In 1962, at its headquarters in Mexico City, ORIT set up a "graduate school," the Inter-American Labor College, patterned on those already operated by its parent organization in Asia and Africa. Until now ORIT's college has been operating in scattered rented facilities in the capital, but plans for building a permanent resident college in Cuernavaca are well advanced.

In addition, the International Trade Secretariats organize seminars for their own affiliates. Even the German Friedrich Ebert Foundation, of Social Democratic inspiration, is reaching out from its home base near Cologne to hold occasional seminars in Latin America for trade-union leaders and organizers of co-operatives.

All this makes a fine jumble of democrats, but there never has been any real conflict of interests. As one ORIT official remarked: "Democracy is multiple, and the need is so great that there is plenty of room." The purpose of all this educational ferment is not, after all, to grab each other's dues-paying members. In countries of primitive political structure, the unions are often the only means of teaching practical functioning democracy to an important sector of the population.

The natural opponents of such efforts are, it would seem, the Communists. Yet Communist attempts to create an effective Latin-American labor federation are notably on the decline. They failed miserably in Chile two years ago, and their effort in Brazil in 1963, when they could find no shelter until Goulart put them up sumptuously in Brasilia, was also abortive. They control the national federation in Chile and local unions in various countries, but with no international federation to back them up, their activities are sporadic.

A Major Mystery

Clamorous opposition there is, however, and it comes from a most unlikely source—the Confederación Latinoamericana de Sindicalistas Cristianos, known as CLASC. Its leader and spokesman is a brilliant young Argentine named Emilio Máspero. CLASC is the Latin-American offshoot of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (IFCTU), which, like the ICFTU, the international free trade-union organization, also has headquarters in Brussels. Its main European affiliates are French, Belgian, German, Italian, and Dutch. In Germany and Italy, despite their strong Christian Democratic parties, the main unions are affiliated with the ICFTU.

CLASC's disruptive and revolutionary position in Latin America differs so radically from its European parent's, and even from that of the local Christian Democratic parties with which it is often confused, that it has become a major mystery.

The first mystery is where its money comes from. Although CLASC now claims some five million "sympathizers" (significantly, it claims to be a federation of unionists and not

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of unions), it probably has little more than half a million dues-paying members. It cannot even claim the strong Christian unions of Venezuela and Colombia, which are affiliated with ORIT. Yet despite this narrow base, the organization obviously has considerable money to spend. From handsome and costly headquarters in Santiago, Mexico City, and other Latin-American capitals, it organizes vast seminars and congresses to which it invites hundreds of sympathizers from all over the continent. It has an active publications department that deluges friends and enemies alike with incendiary literature. Labor experts figure that its annual budget must be between four and five million dollars. ORIT, with a total membership of 28.5 million if its U.S. and Canadian affiliates are included, spends about four hundred thousand dollars; AIFLD about a million.

Some of CLASC's money comes, of course, from the parent European federation, IFCTU—about $1 million, according to the secretary-general, Auguste Vanistendael. The rest apparently comes from West Germany. The Bonn government channels money from its education and development fund to an organization run by the Christian Democratic Party, the Eichholtz Institute, which in turn supports an institute known as DESAL in Santiago, Chile, run by a Belgian Jesuit priest, Roger Vekemans. DESAL works closely with CLASC. The German bishops' charity fund is also constantly cited as a source of funds. "We get aid from German Christians," CLASC's secretary-general, Emilio Máspero, publicly admits.

It is not the money, however, but what it is used for that is cause for deep concern. And this brings up the second mystery of CLASC: what does it stand for? Its positive philosophy is so nebulous, and indeed varies so much according to the audience, that it is easier to define what it is against. Here, at least, the message is loud and clear.

ENEMY NO. 1 is the United States. CLASC leaders regularly attack both ORIT and AIFLD as instruments of "Wall Street imperialists." Indeed, their hatred of all things American has reached such a point that they refused to sit down with their ORIT counterparts at a meeting in Washington last spring called by George Meany in an attempt to improve relations.

Even the intense pressure that was brought by delegates from the parent European federation failed to bring them to heel. A few months earlier, CLASC had already issued an official Declaration of Rio de Janeiro which condemned the Organization of American States on the grounds that the United States is a member. It also entertains a low opinion of the Alliance for Progress, expressed at some length in a document prepared for it by the DESAL. Anti-Americanism is always a profitable rallying cry for an outfit trying to penetrate the Latin-American masses, and CLASC evidently enjoys sufficient autonomy vis-à-vis its European sponsors to pursue this advantage to the hilt.

Its vituperation against "social democrats" is only slightly less violent. In this category CLASC includes Venezuelan Presidents Betancourt and Leoni, Peru's veteran leftist leader Haya de la Torre, and the Colombian National Front. By contrast its anti-Communism, though central to its creed, is often blurred. Thus, the United States is often attacked for being too uncompromising in its anti-Communist stand, and there have been instances, particularly in Colombia, where CLASC affiliates have even made common cause with Communists against ORIT.

CLASC also proclaims an uncompromising hatred of dictatorship. Its Brazilian affiliate, one of the biggest, was read out of the confederation because it now co-operates with the Castelo Branco government, which is accused of combining two evils: being an unconstitutional junta as well as a "stooge of the United States." Emilio Máspero, at a press conference last April, condemned "the impudent intervention of the State Department and of President Johnson in the expulsion of President Goulart." To which Rómulo Marinho, head of the expelled affiliate, replied that Máspero's language "resembles, down to the commas, the Muscovite propaganda."

Not Peace but a Sword

Opposition to dictatorships, however, has not prevented an increasing closeness with the Peronist unions in Argentina. Máspero, whose education includes a spell in a Jesuit seminary, learned his trade unionism in the Peronist metallurgical union and even spent some time in jail after Perón's overthrow. In early December he met the present leaders of the Peronist trade unions in Buenos Aires. According to the CLASC official bulletin, he not only offered them support in their current battles on the home front but also urged them to extend their activities once again throughout the continent—in co-operation with

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CLASC, of course. "We have the same ideology," he declared.

Finally, CLASC has its own definition of the word "Christian": "For us the word has no confessional, religious, ecclesiastic, theological, or dogmatic meaning." Anyway, its leaders add, the priests are often to be found on the side of the bourgeoisie and would mar their revolutionary image. Christmas greetings from their Santiago headquarters bore a quotation from St. Matthew: "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace but a sword."

And indeed, revolution, fast and violent if necessary, is their constant theme. They are, however, extremely vague as to what sort of society is to come afterward. The best that one can get out of them is obscure talk about communal labor in which "the goods of production would belong to the workers, not to the capitalists."

A Revolution in Labels

As revolutionaries with primarily political aims, they naturally disdain the traditional tactics of trade-union organization; they also lack trained and responsible leaders. (In one country their director is a man thrown out of ORIT for absconding with union funds.) In the absence of clearly defined social and economic goals, their effort is overly directed toward the penetration of existing unions. They admit quite frankly that they have learned a lot from the Communists in this respect. They also have no scruples about money. Father Vicente Andrade, who is the guiding spirit of the Colombian Federation of Christian Unions, an ORIT affiliate, describes how CLASC came into his country, paying salaries double those offered by local unions in an attempt to coax away union officers and form new organizations subservient to CLASC.

CLASC is particularly active among the impoverished and illiterate *campesinos* in several countries, particularly Peru. They are also setting up "neighborhood unions" in the shantytowns that deface all Latin-American cities. On both fronts they frankly advocate force: mass demonstrations, occupation of land and houses, even armed rebellions. Their over-all effort is geared to turn out "militants whose action should be directed toward radical change, toward revolution," as one of their circulars puts it, and they do not want these militants spoiled by any namby-pamby American brainwashing.

The victory of the Christian Democratic Party in Chile was, of course, hailed by the "Christian" CLASC as its own. In fact the two organizations are quite separate entities. CLASC does, however, have a degree of control over the union department of the Christian Democratic Party, due perhaps to its generous financial support to the department, and is making a determined effort to increase it. Immediately after the victory at the polls in September, the department issued a confidential circular ordering all party members to resign not only from any union affiliated with ORIT but likewise from certain non-CLASC Christian unions, and to refrain from any contact with AIFLD.

This CLASC-inspired circular has aroused a good deal of dissension within the party. The chief ORIT-affiliated union in Chile, the Maritime Workers of Valparaiso, with a great majority of Christian Democratic members, simply refused to let it be read. In Santiago seventeen party members ignored the order and attended an AIFLD seminar, as a result of which three of them were called on the carpet and told to leave. They refused. On orders from the party leadership the union department has now "suspended" the circular. Since the Christian Democratic Party's first aim is to wrest control of the Chilean labor movement from the Communists by appealing to all democratically minded workers, CLASC's effort to claim the election victory for itself can only be divisive.

For all the noise it makes, CLASC is still a relatively small movement. It is, nonetheless, a potentially dangerous one. Its anti-Americanism is not its most alarming feature; indeed, we ourselves are urging Latin Americans to find their own way and concede that it may not be ours. It is rather that CLASC's call to the barricades has so little to do with modern trade unionism. To be sure, AIFLD leader Romualdi's concept of "labor and management pulling together" may still be somewhat utopian for Latin-American countries, but our labor effort in Latin America, whatever its shortcomings, is at least trying to provide the structure for constructive dialogue. CLASC, despite its Christian label, is preaching the class struggle.

THIS REGRESSIVE PROGRAM is, of course, similar to that of the Communists, and various observers fear that CLASC will in the end serve only to buttress them. But there is another danger. Perón in Argentina showed what an effective power base a vengeful union organization can be. Máspero, the real power in CLASC, is a young man of tremendous drive, with an agile mind and great gifts as an orator. Much more than a labor leader, he resembles an up-and-coming Latin-American strong man.

In view of the financial resources Máspero now enjoys, one can only echo, in a wider context, Father Andrade, who asked in a study paper on CLASC activities in Colombia and other countries: "Isn't it a mistake that the moneys of international Christian organizations, especially from Germany and other European countries, be dedicated to dividing the Christian labor forces of a Catholic nation?"

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The Problem Problem

MEG GREENFIELD

ALTHOUGH no one is talking about it for the record, administration aides now privately concede a growing sense of alarm over a set of statistics under review at the highest levels in Washington. The figures are said to suggest that the administration may be prevented from dealing with the host of national problems it is committed to solve; and if such fears prove justified, the implications for the nation will be staggering. According to a survey taken for the Democratic Platform Committee last summer, for example, there already are at least 145 major booms, lags, gaps, drains, and explosions awaiting governmental attention. Even this figure is thought to be low by some observers who point out that it does not take account of recent studies which have shown that automation, radiation, population, cybernation, alienation, and trench mouth are increasing at twice the rate of the Gross National Product, at a time when statisticians are warning that fifteen years from now half of us will not yet be fourteen years old.

Given this mass of disturbing information, which has only been known to the public since the problem-identification boom got under way in the late 1950's, it is not surprising that many find it difficult to believe that the situation may soon be altered by a projected solution explosion—yet that is exactly what worried economists are now predicting on the basis of the mandate granted the Democrats last fall and the new amenability of Congress. The potentially disruptive effects of such a development are known to have been the subject of a top-secret National Security Council paper prepared three months ago for James Reston and recently leaked to President Johnson. Taking as its measure the Standard Problem Accelerator Indicator (number of editorials in the *Saturday Review* times new housing starts), the NSC was able to predict with a fair degree of certainty that the lag in the gap between the explosion and the boom was pointing the nation toward an unprecedented problem drain. Put another way, the NSC document constituted a stark warning that unless the emerging trend toward identification and solution is brought under control, some time before the end of the next decade there will be no more problems.

The Fuss-Slump Cycle

This problem is likely to consume more of President Johnson's time than any other during the next four years. Reportedly, it lay behind his decision to "go slow" with his mandate and to accede to the urging of White House advisers that the number of Presidential task forces be cut from the Kennedy high of twenty-nine to a mere eleven. To understand the reasoning behind this caution, it is only necessary to consider the massive economic dislocation that would occur if the problem drain itself were to become a reality. At the present time, the number of persons engaged in college teaching at the level of instructor or above is increasing by thirty-two thousand annually, of whom three-fifths are estimated to earn four-fifths of their disposable income from consulting, conferring, publishing, traveling, sunbathing, and broadcasting activities that fall within the problem sector.

Nor would professor-consultants be the only group of wage earners affected. The President's Council of Economic Advisers calculates that no fewer than four million new jobs have been created since 1957 as a result of the problem boom. As an example, staff aides point to the migrant-worker issue, which was uncovered by social scientists in 1958 and again in 1961. At its peak period, the migrant-worker problem provided almost continuous full employment in the television documentary industry alone; and this, taken together with the television commercial input, columns and editorials printed, printing and production fees, airlines' income, and related janitorial and custodial services, is thought to have been a major factor in the nation's unexpectedly swift recovery from the recession of 1958.

In the view of many economists, the most important aspect of the migrant-worker problem was that the only group of wage earners who did not seem to benefit from the activity it generated were the migrant workers themselves. Since 1957, in fact, they have declined in number by only eleven per cent and continue to function outside the coverage of minimum-wage legislation. While the meaning of these facts is still not clear, one school of economists has interpreted them as evidence of the existence of a fuss-slump cycle known to specialists in the field as the Dropout Effect. If they are correct in this assessment, the typical public problem has a marketability life span of approximately eighteen months before it drops out; and since solution lead time is known to require at least forty-eight months, these economists argue that any fears the nation might have that its problems are going to be solved prematurely are unfounded. Over the short term, at any rate, they believe that they have discerned a self-righting mechanism at work in such cases; as they see it, there is little reason to question the health of a socio-economic system

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that can derive 13.9 per cent of its total output of goods and services from public efforts to solve a problem, while leaving the problem itself eighty-nine per cent intact.

Not everybody is so sanguine. For example, the Edsel Foundation not long ago expanded its Project Problem Projection to include a forty-man subsection on Problem Resources for the Future, and gloominess is said to have marked most of the papers that were delivered during the group's recent five-day conference at the Racquet Club in Silver Bay, Barbados. A good part of the material presented at the conference was exploratory and tentative, and doubtless there will be fuller reports available for discussion when the worried educators reconvene this spring in Saint-Tropez. But even on the basis of the incomplete Barbados data, several interesting long-range approaches emerged.

One was the preliminary finding of the sociology subcommittee's working-group task force charged with investigating the feasibility of making the so-called Can-Should Shift. They estimated that at a probable cost to the Edsel Foundation of only $12 million, instruction could be introduced at the teachers'-college level in the techniques of should-izing can-oriented articles. "*Should* New York City Be Saved?" and "*Should* We Survive the Fun Boom?" were examples of the kinds of problems the working group felt could provide a creative outlet for the energies of social scientists and a cushion for the economy once the transition has been made.

Another promising area seemed to be that of projective retrospection, or, as the handsome conference brochure described it, "man's tireless search for problems that have grown out of his solutions." Prior to the signing of the Partial Test Ban Treaty, the conferees pointed out in their report, the world's population was subsisting largely on salmon which were subsisting largely on plankton which were in turn subsisting largely on fallout. The group appointed a special subcommittee to investigate what, if anything, the plankton are eating now. A plankton shortage or, conversely, a plankton flux, or worse, both, could have good or bad consequences, the report declared, in a world where there soon will be even more Chinese than there already are. Despite the general pessimism of the Barbados meeting, however, there was genuine excitement in the air when the socio-scientific subgroup had completed its presentation. Even on the basis of its partial researches, the subgroup was able to report that the carbon dioxide content of the air is rising dangerously, that newly curving wind currents seem destined to deflect essential moisture from the North American atmosphere, and—most encouraging of all—that the polar ice cap has begun to melt. If this last is true, the subgroup related, it will mean the certain dis-

placement of some three million bull walruses, with implications that can as yet only be guessed at. It further recommended the creation of a permanent standing politico-anthropography subforce to deal with the problem. Since the ice cap overhangs both the free and Communist worlds, the subgroup stated, this grave new development is bound to cause a major alteration in the balance of world power, the nature of which is likely to be determined by the direction in which the dripping takes place.

The Coming Challenge

If anything became clear as a result of the Barbados Conference, it was that the private foundations cannot be expected to do the job alone. Retraining sociologists in the physical sciences will undoubtedly require a substantial Federal effort, and yet, except for the pioneering studies of the two major foundations, very little has yet been done to prepare for the coming challenge. The pilot project currently under way at Hunter College, for example, where six instructors in city planning are being retrained in climatology, is being supported solely by a grant from the Marx Brothers Fund. The results, though far from conclusive, have been promising thus far: despite intensive experimental counseling, five of the six trainees have already dropped out of the program—a problem that is certain to give a boost to the sagging morale of the Dropout task force now readying its new papers for Saint-Tropez.

Although government-agency officials are known to be awaiting the Hunter outcome with interest, the project is pitifully inadequate from their point of view. Many of them admit in private conversation that until the Federal government enters the picture with a massive and well thought-out program of research, development, retraining, re-funding, and co-ordination, the problem can only worsen. Some are thinking in terms of the creation of a Federal Problem Bank, with payments (compounded annually) being made to social scientists for problems left in it for more than two years. This scheme does not enjoy widespread support in government as yet, but those who favor it point out that it has two advantages: it could be established by Executive order without the intervention of Congress, and it is patterned along the lines of the farm program, which has done so much to conserve that problem as a renewable national resource.

Whether Congress can be restrained from its new mood of conciliation, however, and whether President Johnson will be able to check his tendency to get things done remain to be seen. At this point the only thing that seems certain is the gravity of the problem. As Lord Bertrand Russell summed it up in a three-hundred-word telegram that was recently lost by the White House: "Any nation that would turn its back on a problem of this dimension has problems of its own. The question for civilized men is not whether such a nation can survive but whether it even should."

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Franco's Foes Stop Hoping

CLAIRE STERLING

To those who have been waiting twenty-five years for General Francisco Franco to fall, 1964 was a landmark of sorts. It was the year when his most hopeful opponents stopped hoping.

Nearly everybody in the opposition concedes now that Franco will probably rule Spain until he dies. A few still insist that the Church, the army, or the Asturian miners might overthrow his widely unbeloved régime at any moment. But they say so without conviction. The fact is that most Spaniards have suddenly found themselves if not actually well off, then at least better off than they have ever been; and when prosperity comes in the door, as an old-time Socialist remarks, "revolutionary lyricism flies out the window."

Prosperity is a relative matter, of course, and the kind that has finally come to the Spaniards might not seem like much to a European north of the Pyrenees. Nevertheless, jobs are easily found these days; farm hands' wages have nearly tripled, and domestic servants' pay quadrupled, since 1959; skilled industrial workers are demanding and getting three times the minimum wage, which was doubled just twenty-four months ago; refrigerators and washing machines are invading working-class homes; supermarkets are breaking out in the larger cities; automobiles clog the streets of Madrid, Barcelona, and Bilbao. All in all, the change that has come over the country suggests that Spain is at last moving, or backing, into the twentieth century.

Franco may not enjoy this prospect. Even when he started the process in 1953, he may not have realized how far he was going. He had agreed to let the United States build five military bases in Spain, mostly because of the recognition and respectability he would get in return—an apparently excellent bargain for a dictator who had been an international pariah since the 1930's. The larger implications did not become clear until it was too late for him to retreat.

What with one thing and another, the Base Agreements have ended by exposing Spain to all the unsettling influences of the outside world. Along with American pilots came American aid ($1.8 billion so far); with the aid came visiting congressmen; in their wake have come Hilton hotels, Fulbright scholars, *Time*, books by Hemingway and Galbraith, movies and movie directors, clubwomen, Protestant missionaries, financial experts, businessmen, trade unionists, and tourists of every nationality, fourteen million of whom—nearly one for every two Spaniards—came swarming through the country last year.

The Works of Opus Dei

In the earlier stages particularly, General Franco showed no enthusiasm for these emissaries of contemporary civilization. They were a political nuisance; they tended to take a compulsive interest in Spain's economic betterment; and, for a country with a perpetually motionless economy, they were spending too much money. Four years after the Base Agreements were signed, in fact, Spain came down with a bad case of inflation. After a futile effort to cope with it, Franco made what proved to be the shrewdest move of his career: he turned the whole problem over to an elite Catholic group known as the Opus Dei and, in effect, retired.

Since so many Spaniards cordially dislike this austere movement of lay Catholic intellectuals, it is often misrepresented. The dislike is understandable, since the Opus Dei leaders support the régime not only ardently but efficiently. Reactionary as they may be in their politics, however, they are the pioneers of neo-capitalism in Spain, although it hasn't been easy to press on with a technical and industrial revolution while resolutely opposing a political and social one of even the mildest kind. Nevertheless, they have at least gotten far enough to save a régime that just a few years ago was about to give way under the weight of circumstance.

Possibly Franco did not intend to endow his Opus Dei ministers with their present sweeping authority when he named them to all the economic posts in his cabinet. But he had always been given to temporizing; and with thousands of workers striking and rioting—evidently forgetting for the moment that they lived in a police state—he was obliged to lean more and more on the decisive new men around him. By 1959, with Franco still temporizing, they were strong enough to override him, pushing through a stabilization plan that has reversed the fortunes

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of the country and Franco himself.

The plan worked. After a convulsive shift from controlled inflation to tightly controlled deflation, the economy first righted itself and then expanded—by 10 per cent in 1962, 8.2 per cent in 1963, and 6.3 per cent in 1964, a very bad crop year. The devaluation of the peseta from forty-two to sixty to the dollar had an especially invigorating effect. Attracted by the cheaper and more stable peseta, foreign businessmen began to invest heavily here, at a rate now exceeding $250 million annually; tourists flocked in by the millions, spending over $900 million in the country last year; and gold and foreign-exchange currency reserves shot up from zero to $1.4 billion.

By and large, the Opus Dei ministers have used these years to advantage. They have liberalized Spanish tariff policies; opened negotiations for association with the Common Market; encouraged imports of the latest industrial machinery; gone abroad to search energetically for export markets—most recently to Eastern Europe and Russia, which would have been unthinkable in the old days; and launched a four-year Economic Development Plan that is supposed to raise investment by 9 per cent, production by 6.6 per cent, and consumption by 5.5 per cent annually.

At the same time, an elaborate welfare system is being improved and enlarged. Though some allowances are negligible—old-age pensions amount to $4.20 monthly—half the population is entitled now to some sort of government subsidy for birth, marriage, and funeral expenses, unemployment compensation (seventy-five per cent of base pay), disability insurance, modest loans, and free medical care covering everything from medicines and eyeglasses to hospitalization, with large new hospitals available in each of the fifty provincial capitals. Workers' rest camps provide skiing and swimming holidays for sixty cents a day. Education has been implemented by the addition of 25,000 schoolrooms, with 14,500 more under construction; and a fifteen-year National Housing Plan has been ahead of schedule since it started in 1961.

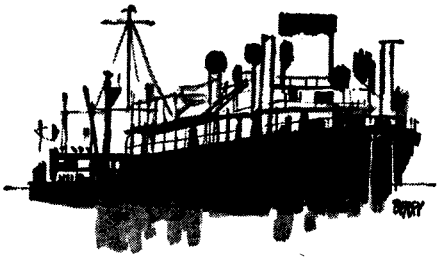
If some people here detect a whiff of the socialist welfare state in all this womb-to-tomb protection, opposition leaders find the scent of Mussolini's corporative state much stronger. The whole social-welfare structure, they say, is a bribe offered to workers who are denied the most elementary trade-union rights; the expanded school system, while teaching their children to read and write, is turning out political illiterates; and the Economic Development Plan is a soulless technocrats' blueprint designed simply to increase corporate profits.

Waiting for a Funeral

The accuracy of the opposition's diagnosis isn't much help to the opposition. The number of Spaniards willing to risk another civil war so as to get rid of Franco has never been very large—a million people died in the last one—and under the anaesthetic influence of relative well-being, it is dwindling to almost nothing.

"For twenty-five years," explained a Social Democrat in Madrid, "our friends abroad, who would never dream of making a revolution themselves, have been waiting for us to make one. There have been times when we might have done it, with their help and comprehension. But they have been appallingly ignorant of the true conditions here—for most of them, Spain has been just an irritating abstraction—and the help never came when we needed it.

"Now," he continued, "it's all over. Of course, the workers will go on giving Franco trouble, but only on



a strictly trade-union level. Everybody knows that the old man has got to die one of these days, and when he does, we'll get out of the catacombs. Not poetically. Prosaically."

What interests opposition leaders most nowadays is where they will find themselves when, having emerged from the catacombs, they stand blinking in the sunlight. Few doubt that there *will* be sunlight of some sort. Not even the Spanish Army would be likely to insist on a second-round dictatorship under someone like Captain-General Agustín Muñoz Grandes, the Vice-President of Government. Nor is there any longer much chance that the Communists will play a significant role. Not only is the Communist underground shot through with police spies, but it is split into factions following the Russian, Chinese, and Italian party lines; and it has become so ideologically neurasthenic that a forged pro-Chinese leaflet clumsily prepared by the Special Police very nearly broke up the organization altogether.

Catholics and Socialists

That should presumably leave only two important political formations in a power struggle that, considering the immense weight of the Church in Spain, ought to be lopsided. But nobody is really in any shape to compete as yet, Catholics included. The Christian Democrats, like the Communists, are split three ways—four, counting the Opus Dei, which will certainly be in the running—and the Socialists four, with a fifth group warring on the others from its base of exile in Toulouse. All these groups and an indeterminate number of grouplets have been dividing and re-forming from one month to the next, and every effort to bring a semblance of unity into their not very considerable ranks has come to nothing.

Among the few democrats here who find stimulating possibilities in the situation, the boldest is Professor Tierno Galván, a Socialist lawyer with little organized backing but an impressive reputation. "It is true," he told me, "that the opposition is confused and atomized. But since none of us thinks there can be any change in Spain while Franco lives, we are better off divided than united. A concentration of our forces would be useful if we were intending to make a direct assault on the régime, which is obviously impossible. It would *not* be useful right now, when our only function is to stimulate. In these conditions, an opposition front would be a positive handi-

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cap: it would be too easy to break up. We can be more effective as ghosts, visible, audible, and evanescent. The more the merrier.

"Naturally," he went on, "our visibility and audibility are essential. Conspiracy is something else we don't want, because it would favor Franco by giving him an excuse to suppress us. What we do want is to make Franco deal openly with us. When we have drawn him out that far, the ice will be broken and we'll be able to organize more efficiently for the succession."

With Galván setting the example, there are already some scattered signs of thaw. He was the first opposition leader to declare his party allegiance publicly (except for the Communist leader Julián Grimau, who did so in prison shortly before his execution in April, 1963); he has served as an eloquent defense attorney for many political prisoners, including Grimau's successor as head of the Communists' central committee; and he deliberately talks to reporters for the record. Yet the régime, apart from cutting off his family allowance as a professor at the University of Salamanca, has not bothered him. Consequently, others have begun to emulate him, some even venturing to hold semi-public meetings. Only last month, the Christian Democrats held something like a founding party convention near Madrid, attended by a hundred delegates, observers, and journalists. Although the presence of the secret police was apparent, the meeting was held without interference.

FRANCO evidently sees no urgent need to put a stop to this kind of thing. He can safely dispense with some of the cruder methods once necessary to his security, and his cabinet ministers have long been anxious to improve the country's image abroad. Admittedly, they have tended to backslide: the new and ostensibly more lenient Law of Association, although honored in the breach more often than not, prohibits the existence of any political party or other group that deviates however slightly from the principles of the Movimiento (the fascist Falange). Still, a recent law on religious liberty has restored at least one freedom that has been missing here since the Spanish Inquisition was founded. And so long as opposition leaders confine themselves to talking, the Special Police seem quite content to leave them alone.

The rule has one egregious exception. Neither Franco nor his Opus Dei ministers have shown much indulgence toward the workers as far as trade unions are concerned; and where they do, it is largely for reasons beyond their control. One reason is the Catholic Church, which is strongly supporting the workers' ever more insistent demands for legitimate collective bargaining. At the same time, a good many employers have been forced to make illegal agreements with the shadow trade unions simply because the workers' power of intimidation has expanded as the labor supply has contracted. Nevertheless, the régime rarely misses an opportunity to hit back when it can, especially when it can catch a Communist culprit. Where middle-class Communist intellectuals are almost never molested nowadays, those involved in strikes or clandestine union activities are still sentenced to from three to twenty-eight years.

In all likelihood, both sides will be stiffening their positions fairly soon. The cost of living has gone up by ten per cent since December, eating into wage increases that have averaged twenty-five per cent in the last two years; and the wildcat strikes already breaking out may reach the proportions of the memorable 1962 walkouts, when over a hundred thousand workers kept the régime on tenterhooks for weeks. But this strike wave, if it comes, will probably be

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even more apolitical than the last one. Incurably suspicious of all politicians, parties, and promises, the working class stubbornly refuses to be drawn into any form of political action, overt or otherwise.

The best the opposition can hope for, then, is to establish friendly ties with the working class that might come in handy later; and the prize for effort in that direction undoubtedly goes to the Catholic Church. From the time the Church began a long, slow process of disengagement in Spain under the inspiration of the late Pope John, its principal differences with the régime have had to do with workers' demands for trade-union rights and social justice. The Vatican has not forgotten what happened in Italy when Mussolini died, leaving a political vacuum that the Communist Party came very close to filling. Nor has it forgotten what the Spanish working class is capable of when its anticlerical sentiments are aroused.

Pope Paul has carried on with this disengagement process, not spectacularly but persistently. The Workers' Brotherhoods of Catholic Action (HOAC) are still courageously in the forefront of workers' demonstrations; the hierarchy's newspaper, *Ecclesia*, continues to publish abrasive criticisms of the fraudulent *sindicatos* (Falangist corporate unions); and the Pope himself has pointedly selected the more enlightened Spanish prelates for elevation to higher posts.

Furthermore, the newly founded Christian Democratic Union is well to the Left of the group that used to have Rome's backing. Its leadership has passed to younger and considerably more militant men like Joaquín Ruiz Jiménez, until 1957 a minister in Franco's cabinet, who has made a sensational entrance in his opposition role. During the so-called debate on the Law of Association in the Cortes, Franco's domesticated parliament, Ruiz Jiménez was the only deputy who rose to oppose it, delivering such a virulent speech that he got into a fist fight before leaving the hall. Soon afterward, he went personally to El Pardo to deliver his resignation from the Cortes to Franco, who hadn't had a comparable experience since he moved in.

Significantly, Franco has not yet accepted Ruiz Jiménez's resignation. He is evidently in no hurry to force any issues: as a dictator who is now reasonably assured of a lifetime job, he doesn't have to be. There is always a possibility, of course, that he might be shaken out of his composure if the economy should take an abrupt turn for the worse; the one thing that might reverse the political situation in Spain, in fact, would be a change from the currently mild wave of inflation to the rampaging sort that hit the country in 1957, leading perhaps to a complete economic breakdown. Barring that, the general can afford to relax. Spain today is sufficiently safe, respectable, stable, even rich, to permit its chief of state the luxury of snubbing or treating with whomever he chooses—including the Russians. In short, he is triumphantly independent of his friends as well as his enemies at home and abroad. Few men have attained such an enviable position.

The Maryland College Case: A Clear Test for School Aid?

DONALD BREMNER

LATE in 1963, Congress passed and sent to the White House the $1.195-billion "bricks and mortar" college-aid bill. In authorizing this huge sum for construction of college classrooms and graduate-study centers over the next three years, Congress has again posed an old question: Can public funds raised by taxes be granted to church-related schools without violating the "establishment of religion" doctrine of the Constitution? It is a crucial query, since more than half of American colleges have some form of church connection.

The answer may emerge from a case now being tried in Maryland. And if the issue reaches the U.S. Supreme Court, it could become a landmark, providing guidance not only for Congress but also for state legislatures in their spending of public money to help church-affiliated institutions of higher learning educate the growing number of students crowding the nation's colleges and universities. But perhaps even more important, the decision of the courts on the Maryland college grants foreshadows the outcome of the struggle over use of public funds for parochial elementary and secondary schools, probably today's most divisive issue among America's major religious faiths.

The Maryland case involves the authorization by the state legislature in 1962 and 1963 of $2.5 million in matching grants for buildings at the College of Notre Dame and St. Joseph's College (both Roman Catholic institutions), Western Maryland College (Methodist), and Hood College (United Church of Christ).

The progress of the Maryland grants was watched carefully by Dr. Edgar Fuller, the executive secretary of the Council of Chief State School Officers and Washington representative of the heads of public-school systems in the fifty states. Fuller is dismayed at what he considers a trend toward the use of public money for private schools. The Maryland college grants seemed to offer the clearest state-court test of the constitutionality of public money for private schools.

Fuller and other educators chose the Horace Mann League, an association of some five hundred public-school educators across the country, to sponsor the challenge to the Maryland grants. Thirteen Maryland residents joined as taxpayers in the suit that was filed in a state court in Annapolis against the State of Maryland and the four colleges. An estimated $50,000 to carry the case through the U.S. Supreme Court is being raised from individual contributors and from organizations,

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including the National Education Association.

The Secular Offensive

The legal attack on the acts of the Maryland legislature is led by Leo Pfeffer, the general counsel of the American Jewish Congress, professor of Constitutional law at Yeshiva University in New York, counsel in earlier church-state cases before the Supreme Court, and author of several books on church-state relations and the law. His suit charges that the grants to the four church-affiliated colleges are laws "respecting an establishment of religion," and thus are in violation of the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the Constitution. It also asserts that the grants violate the Maryland constitution by compelling taxpayers to contribute to a place of worship, and by using tax money for a religious, and therefore non-public, purpose.

The resulting court testimony has shown varying degrees of religious sovereignty over the four colleges, but teachers and administrators testified that church doctrines do not influence what is taught at their schools and that academic freedom is complete. The head of one of the two Catholic schools acknowledged under cross-examination, however, that certain teachings might be restricted. Sister Rosemary, president of St. Joseph's College, when asked whether a teacher could deny the existence of the soul, said, "We would allow him to say that it is taught, but not that it is the truth."

"Or that he believed it as the truth?" she was asked.

"I would say not," she replied.

"How about abortion?"

"Not abortion where it means taking human life—we could not permit that," Sister Rosemary said. She also testified that a teacher would not be permitted to teach that the human mind lacks the capacity to determine the existence of God, or to say that all law is man-made and that there is no natural law of divine origin.

Sister Mary Alma, a biology teacher at the College of Notre Dame, on the other hand, said that she gives her students the "strictly scientific approach" on the origin of life. "If anything comes up about the theology of the beginning of life, I refer them to the philosophy department. I've been trained as a scientist, and to think as a scientist, and my knowledge of Catholic doctrine and philosophy never enters into my teaching. If it did, I shouldn't be in science."

Sister Maura, who teaches English literature and writing at the College of Notre Dame, was asked whether she used the Bible as a model for writing. "It's such a fine piece of

literature that I think we probably should, but we don't," she replied. "As a matter of fact, we use the *New Yorker*."

Dr. Lowell S. Ensor, president of Western Maryland College, told the court that in faculty hiring he tries "to select people whose philosophy of life is congenial with the Christian philosophy of life."

Asked whether he would hire someone who denies the existence of God, he replied: "Ordinarily not, unless he offers something in a special field. I don't think any college with any relationship to a church could in good conscience employ a faculty member who does not acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being."

"I couldn't agree with you more," Pfeffer replied, "and that's why I think you shouldn't accept state funds."

A Problem of Numbers

Out of this array of testimony, the plaintiffs have asked the court to draw a line to decide what degree of church affiliation and influence makes a college ineligible to receive public money. Lawyers for the state and the four colleges argue that it is impossible to draw any such line dividing "religious" colleges from "non-religious" ones, and that to try is only "to enter a bog from which you can never get out." Defending the constitutionality of the grants, they assert the theory of "public benefit," specifically that government may legally grant public money to church-related schools to accomplish a public purpose—education. This may well result in incidental benefit to religion, they argue, but that does not override the more important aspect of furthering a public purpose.

The same argument, of course, could be applied to church-related primary and secondary schools, which are not directly involved in the present Maryland case. In contrast with colleges, which are affiliated with a wide variety of religious faiths and denominations, most of the parochial primary and secondary schools are Roman Catholic. The *Summary of Catholic Education* lists 5,590,806 pupils in parochial schools in 1963, nearly ten times as many as in all other church schools combined, and approximately twelve per cent of the nation's total primary- and secondary-school enrollment. Today, nearly one student in eight below the college level is in a parochial school. Building and operating these schools imposes a heavy burden on the Catholic community, already taxed for the support of the public-school system. And the burden grows heavier as the supply of unpaid members of religious teaching orders is exhausted and the proportion of salaried lay teachers rises.

But need is hardly the test of constitutionality, and the fact is that previous Supreme Court decisions have left lawyers divided on whether such aid, particularly direct grants of money, would violate the clause of the First Amendment which stipulates that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. . . ."

Only two Supreme Court cases deal with governmental aid to church-related schools. In the first, the *Cochran* case in 1930, the court ruled that Louisiana could constitutionally spend public money to buy textbooks for children attending parochial schools. In the second,

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the *Everson* case in 1947, the court by a five-to-four vote upheld the constitutionality of a New Jersey law providing public money to reimburse parents for transportation of their children to Catholic parochial schools. The *Everson* decision included these sentences:

"The 'establishment of religion' clause of the First Amendment means at least this: Neither a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another. . . . No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion."

The court reiterated these sentences the next year in the *McCollum* case, while ruling unconstitutional a program in Champaign, Illinois, by which religious teachers entered the public schools during regular school hours to give religious instruction to those students who wanted it.

"This is beyond all question a utilization of the tax-established and tax-supported public school system to aid religious groups to spread their faith," the court said, "and it falls squarely under the ban of the First Amendment."

But four years later, in the *Zorach* case, the court backed away from the complete separation of church and state proclaimed in the *McCollum* decision, and upheld a New York City program for releasing students from public schools to attend religious classes outside the schools during school hours. "We follow the *McCollum* case," the court said in the *Zorach* opinion. "But we cannot expand it to cover the present released time program unless separation of church and state means that public institutions can make no adjustments of their schedules to accommodate the religious needs of the people. We cannot read into the Bill of Rights such a philosophy of hostility to religion. . . . The First Amendment . . . does not say that in every and all respects there shall be a separation of church and state. Rather, it studiously defines the manner, the specific ways, in which there shall be no concert or union or dependency one on the other. . . . We are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being."

Hugo L. Black, one of the three dissenting justices, said he saw no difference between the Illinois program disapproved by the court in 1948 and the New York program approved in 1952; that the Supreme Court had, in effect, reversed itself. And in these Supreme Court cases dealing with church, state, and school, both sides in the Maryland case can find legal principles and language from which to draw comfort.

The Legal Shadow

The church-state issue has been partially sidestepped by President Johnson's recent proposal to spend $1.66 billion next year for shared-time programs, education centers, pre-school teaching, scholarships, and textbooks. The President's plan, while helping parochial- as well as

public-school students, would not grant public money directly to parochial schools, and thus avoids raising the Constitutional question in its starkest form.

Even if the President's program encounters Constitutional objections as it goes into effect, it probably cannot be challenged in the courts. To avoid suits by disgruntled taxpayers that could hamstring vast and urgent Federal programs, the Supreme Court ruled back in 1923 that it was not enough for a taxpayer to protest that his taxes were being misused. To have "legal standing" to bring suit, the citizen must show that the Federal law in question causes him direct injury or has a particular impact on him—that it compels him personally to do something objectionable, or to refrain from doing something he has a right to do.

Congress can try to permit a court test by including a provision allowing judicial review when it passes a Federal law. But there is some question whether Congress really has this power, in view of the 1923 case. Moreover, the rejection by Congress of such a provision in the 1963 college-construction bill demonstrates the reluctance of Congress to open Federal programs to court challenge.

State courts have been more receptive to suits charging a misuse of tax funds. Historically, state budgets were much smaller than the Federal budget and less subject to being clogged by a rash of court suits by taxpayers.

The Maryland courts have permitted a series of taxpayer suits challenging state appropriations, taking the view that even though the citizen's share of the misused taxes is infinitesimal, he represents the whole group of injured taxpayers. And having been granted the right to sue in a Maryland court, a taxpayer is assured of a hearing on any Constitutional question in the Supreme Court, even though he might not have had the right to launch a comparable suit in a lower Federal court.

And if Congress fails to allow a court test of the President's program, the Maryland test case becomes that much more important. A lower-court decision ending the first round of the Maryland case is due at the end of this month, with an appeal by the losing side assured. To be sure, a ruling against direct tax aid to private schools in the Maryland case would not necessarily preclude the indirect aid embodied in the President's program. But if the Supreme Court gets the Maryland case, its language could be strong enough to cast a legal shadow over the Federal program and sway legislators already beset by doubts of the constitutionality of any form of public aid for parochial education.

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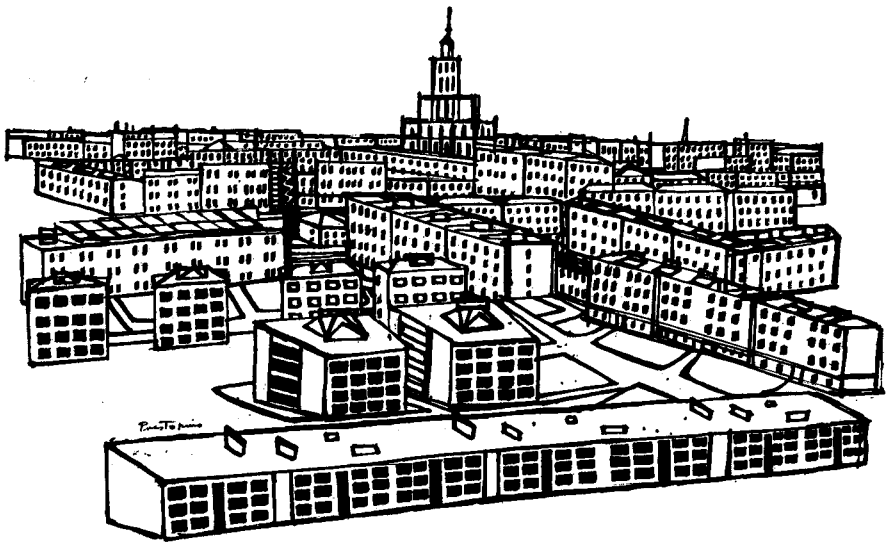

Rebuilding the Bridge To Poland

THOMAS ATKINS

ALTHOUGH every fourth or fifth loaf of bread in Poland is baked from American wheat, few Poles are made aware of it. Silence on the subject has been broken only once a year since the Food for Peace program was extended to Poland in 1957. A few days before the negotiations for a new agreement were begun, a single Warsaw newspaper would carry an article on American credits, designed to create a better atmosphere for the talks. And on the day after the agreement was signed, all the dailies would print a short news-agency report on the fact. Not mentioned was the pertinent fact that since 1957 Poland has received from the United States over half a billion dollars in credits to buy surplus agricultural commodities. Neither was the fact that Poland has twelve billion zlotys (roughly $500 million at the official rate) set aside as payment for agricultural commodities purchased under the Food for Peace program—money that can be used only for purposes agreed on by the two countries. The Communist press belittled the significance of the credits. A favorite explanation was that "The United States pays more for the storage of surplus grain than the grain itself is worth. In fact, we do the Americans a favor by taking the grain off their hands."

The success of this propaganda among the less sophisticated Poles can be gauged from an article that appeared in the September issue of the Communist theoretical journal *Nowe Drogi*. Trying to explain the situation to Polish Communists who on ideological grounds oppose any dealings with the United States, it revealed some bitter truths:

"Thanks to foreign credits we are receiving to buy bread and feed grains abroad, it is possible now to switch the limited foreign currency we possess to other purchases such as machinery. If it were not for the foreign credits we would have either to cut home consumption drastically or to buy grain with the hard currency we are now using to buy essential industrial equipment. . . . The character of credits is not determined by the actual form in which they are received but by their final disposal in the . . . economy."

In effect, this is an admission that without American aid, Poland would find it difficult if not impossible to carry out its ambitious industrialization plans. By alleviating the misery of the Polish people and relieving the Communist government of its obligations to meet popular demands, American aid has in fact served to stabilize the Communist rule in Poland.

LATE LAST SEPTEMBER, Congress adopted amendments to the Food for Peace program (Public Law 480) that cut off U.S. aid to Poland and Yugoslavia as of December 31, 1964. Against the wishes of the administration and over the strong protest of Senator Fulbright, these countries can now purchase American food only with American dollars—and at stiffer credit terms—instead of with their own currency. Their meager foreign-exchange holdings are unlikely to permit them to do much buying. These amendments "will please no one," said Senator Fulbright, "except the Communists in Moscow and the superpatriots in the United States," and will have a "very serious effect upon our foreign relations." But what, in fact, have the United States and the West gained in return for American aid to Poland?

One of the main reasons that Poland deserves American aid, the administration argues, is that it acts to restrain the more extreme and aggressive actions of world Communism. This argument would carry more weight if it could be proved that there is any connection between American aid and Polish foreign policy. Poland does represent the pro-peace faction in the Communist camp as against the advocates of brinkmanship. But this is a course that Poland, so often a battlefield for the giants to its east and west, would pursue without American aid.

Another frequent justification for U.S. aid concerns Polish politics. The United States first extended economic help to Poland after the liberal forces in the country had succeeded in deposing the Stalinist régime late in 1956. Leaders in both countries earnestly hoped that American aid would strengthen the nationalist and liberal trend among the Communists and free the Poles from at least some of the more severe hardships of a Communist dictatorship.

In the beginning it seemed as if this might come to pass. For about

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a year after the revolt, Poland continued on a path of national progress. But, as it turned out, this was because the momentum of the liberal revolution was still too strong to be stopped. In October, 1957, a year almost to the day after Wladyslaw Gomulka was brought to power, he turned against his former allies and ordered the police to attack Warsaw students who protested against the suppression of their popular weekly *Po Prostu*. Thus began the long retreat from liberal reform.

The Road to Regression

The removal last September of Jerzy Morawski, once the undisputed head of the liberal faction inside the Polish Communist Party, to the plush exile of an ambassadorship in London was another sign of this continuing regression. Today, almost none of the organizers of the October revolt remain in the high councils of the party. Stefan Staszewski, who organized the workers to demand the dismissal of the Soviet Marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky as Polish minister of defense, was forced down every rung of the ladder until he reached a humble editorship of an encyclopedia. Wladyslaw Bienkowski, who paved the way for a *modus vivendi* with the Catholic Church, was removed from the ministry of education to the trivial position of chairman of the Board for Conservation of National Parks.

Gomulka has surrounded himself with a small group of yes-men and former Stalinists who, like himself, did not actively participate in the pre-October liberal movement. The vice-premiers in charge of national economy, Eugeniusz Szyr and Julian Tokarski, are known for their dictatorial tendencies and for their advocacy of a return to highly centralized planning. Tokarski is the former minister of industry whose refusal to see a deputation of Poznan workers precipitated the riots of 1956. At a meeting in the Zeran motor works in Warsaw, Gomulka was asked why the old Stalinists were returning to responsible positions. Barely concealing his impatience, Gomulka answered: "If one has a watch badly in need of repair, one does not go to a shoemaker for advice. Running the state and the economy is a responsible business. One goes to specialists even if one does not like them personally. At least they know what it is all about, and if they made mistakes in the past they are not likely to repeat them."

In 1956, returning after years of prison and political ostracism, Gomulka was hailed as a symbol of national defiance against the Russians. His determination that the Communist Party must at all costs maintain its dominant position in the country was overlooked. To him, any enlargement of freedom must curtail the role of the party. This conviction enabled Gomulka the party leader to join with the Stalinists, and made it easier for Gomulka the nationalist to reach a new understanding with Moscow.

At first the counterattack of the regressive forces was directed against the mainstays of liberal strength: the press, the parliament, or Sejm, and the workers' councils, which in October, 1956, became the only nationally organized force capable of becoming a rival to the party. Censorship returned with a vengeance, and the allocation of paper for publishing was cut by forty per cent. The elections of 1961 were rigged to exclude the outspoken critics of Stalinism from the Sejm, and all serious discussion was diverted from the plenary meetings to working committees which excluded both the press and the public. The workers' councils (set up on the Yugoslav model), which in 1956 practically took over the functions of trade unions as an independent expression of organized labor, were submerged in a hybrid creation in which the party held the upper hand.

In general, police terror has given way to economic and administrative harassment. In one year, two hundred progressive university professors were dismissed under the pretext of a new retirement-age regulation. Lawyers have been blackmailed into obedience by the threat of prosecution for tax evasion, and some have been arrested to underline the government position that their function is to protect the state rather than their clients. Judges of the Supreme Court lost their life tenure; some were dismissed and the rest were made to toe the line by the prospect of renomination every five years. Though a general wage freeze was maintained, an exception was made for police and state prosecutors, who were granted high salary increases.

The Economic Consequences

"The New Economic Model," influenced by a group of economists led by a former University of Chicago professor, Oskar Lange, was never given a real chance. Industrial experiments based on decentralization and the introduction of the profit motive were pursued only halfheartedly and were soon declared unworkable. Once more, economic justification of expenditure had to give way to political expediency and party bossism. An old Stalinist weakness, the craving for grandiose plans and rapid industrialization, led to an overextension of investments with resulting shortages, sudden retrenchments, and increasing unemployment.

Abruptly reversing past policy, the government has begun to encourage emigration of skilled workers, miners, technicians, and engineers. Polish newspapers have not printed the fact that miners have been sent to France and industrial workers to Czechoslovakia by government arrangement. As a Communist official told me: "The discontent of the workers might spark a new revolt, just as the Poznan rioters' cry of 'Bread and Freedom!' led to the 1956 uprising. Even if they demonstrate our inability to cope with unemployment, it is better to let these people go abroad than to keep them in the country and risk another Poznan riot."

In agriculture, where the Polish Communists have always ventured with care, the régime aroused the suspicion and hostility of the peasants. In forcing them to pay for modernization of agriculture, the government went back on its promise to abolish compulsory deliveries, raised land and crop taxes, and channeled government aid exclusively to state farms and party-sponsored "farm circles." During the last two years some forty-five thousand small farms were expropriated on the pretext of mismanagement or failure to pay taxes. As a result, the planned breakthrough in yields per hectare never materialized. The low yields cause a yearly deficit of two and a

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half million tons of wheat. It was to help cover this deficit that Poland ordered more than half a million tons of wheat yearly through the United States' Food for Peace program plus a considerable quantity paid for in dollars.

A visitor—diplomat, journalist, or tourist—may still find his stay in Poland enjoyable. Traditional Polish hospitality and the national penchant for open criticism and for humor create for the visitor the illusion of freedom. Moreover, the unstinted admiration for the United States that permits the Poles to cheer both Richard Nixon and Robert Kennedy convinces the traveling American that the Poles are gratifyingly free of the doctrinal assertiveness usually associated with Communism.

But things are bad enough for the common people. Long lines for meat and butter are again an everyday experience. Citrus fruits are a luxury, almost unobtainable. The housing program and the allocation of living space have been reduced drastically. In 1963, apartment rents—always low—went up one hundred per cent, as did the prices of gas and electricity.

Only reluctance to part with a cherished illusion explains the persistence of the image of "liberal Poland" in some western quarters. Yet, although the pattern of regression is clearly discernible, the struggle for liberal reforms has left an indelible mark on the country. The practical experiments may have failed, but the need to find new solutions to problems confronting a socialist society is accepted in Poland today. Western ideas have taken firm root, especially in the universities. Despite the tightening of controls, Poland is still the point where western influences in philosophy and economics, semantics and sociology, art and music most readily enter the Communist camp and find their way in the mainstream of Marxist thought.

The problem is not whether to continue aid to Poland but how to make it most helpful to the forces still struggling for greater freedom. Cutting off American aid to Poland will only play into the hands of those who are looking for a pretext to close the main gates through which western ideas and influences reach the Communist countries. Physical coexistence has become a necessity with nuclear warfare. But coexistence, as the Communists emphasize, does not mean an ideological cease-fire. Writing off Poland would be leaving the battlefield of ideas to the enemy. It would mean accepting a defeat while the fight is still going on.

Until now, U.S. aid has been available to Poland without any conditions. Back in 1957, for psychological and propaganda purposes, this may have been the best way to begin. But when aid was renewed almost automatically year after year, the Polish government came to expect it as a right. It would be futile to use economic aid as a weapon of political blackmail. But there are many areas where considerable improvement could be made in the Polish attitude toward the United States. And many

positive actions could be taken to enlighten the Polish people about the true nature and extent of American aid.

The twelve billion zlotys in frozen counterpart funds offers one such opportunity. Last year the United States spent some two million counterpart dollars in Poland in grants to universities, hospitals, and research institutes. The subjects of research are agreed upon by experts of both countries. According to Professor Anatol Listowski of the Polish Academy of Sciences, who supervises the Polish part of the project, some forty per cent of all research in agriculture is financed by American money.

Flexibility, Not Gratitude

A policy of giving something for nothing cannot be expected to bring dividends. It may be questioned whether U.S. aid given in any other way could be used effectively to halt the policy of regression. But it seems indisputable that American aid could get more recognition and could be used in a more direct way to help the Polish people.

The Polish Communists are aware of the immediate economic benefits of American aid and also of the political advantages of closer economic co-operation with the United States. The Communist régime in Poland is tied militarily and ideologically to the Soviet Union, but it tries to keep as much independence of action as it safely can. This is particularly true now. The Sino-Soviet split relaxed the rule of Moscow and gave all the Communist countries a chance to move more freely. The overthrow of Khrushchev and the consequent instability that accompanies the transfer of power make this opportunity even more promising.

This also may mean new hope for the Polish liberals. A workable economic co-operation with the United States would help Poland withstand the mounting Soviet pressure for economic integration, which if put into effect right now would reduce Poland to a supplier of raw materials and basic products for its more industrially advanced neighbors. We need not expect effusive gratitude; to have the Polish people know the facts of American aid would be enough. But the real reward for aid lies in the flexibility it will give Polish economic and, perhaps ultimately, political life.

The decision of Congress to cut off economic aid to Poland meant that Polish Communists can no longer pose as "liberal" to obtain American economic co-operation. But this decision also offers the possibility of a new start, a possibility almost certain to be welcome to the more liberal elements in Poland, particularly if it forces the Gomulka government to accept once and for all the principle that it cannot get something for nothing.

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St. Wanda's Testament

FREDERIC V. GRUNFELD

AT THE START of Wanda Landowska's career, Ferruccio Busoni took a dubious look at her small, round hands and said, "With such hands you will never be able to achieve anything." And the conductor Artur Nikisch told her, "How can you play the *Chromatic Fantasy* on the harpsichord? What an aberration!" She went on to prove them both abysmally wrong, by developing hands with the strength of a brawny but harmonious blacksmith, and by restoring the harpsichord's sovereignty over all its former domains. When she had finished reapportioning the keyboard repertoire, it had become an aberration to play Bach's *Chromatic Fantasy* on anything but a harpsichord.

Landowska during her last years—a tiny woman usually dressed in a long white gown, monk's robe, and slippers—might have been the *madre superiora* of a Spanish Carmelite cloister, or a latter-day Theresa of Avila—St. Wanda of the Harpsichords. She had rediscovered a forgotten tradition and founded a whole new school of music-making, and yet she was more annoyed than pleased when students deferred to her as their *chef d'école*. "I have never aspired to that pompous title," she wrote in 1950, when she was seventy-one. "It would weigh upon me and encircle my head and heart too tightly. No *chef d'école*, no vestal chaste and pure. Bacchante would suit me better, but one that works hard, zealous as a schoolgirl, trying to understand the letter, fustigating herself 'to make it sound,' and then, forgetting everything—books and laws—unleashed, intoxicated with freedom."

Most virtuosos have hardly any idea of what they are doing when they make music, and perhaps it is just as well. But Landowska was never satisfied with the mere mechanics of playing; she had a lifelong passion for teaching and analysis, for exploring the etymologies of music. "God knows how much I love to explain," she confessed. "I shall never tire of it." The newly published collection of her writings entitled *Landowska on Music* (Stein & Day, $12.50) contains, among other things, a generous sampling of the insights and reflections that she used to share with her pupils, and that for years were jotted down at random in "notebooks of all shapes and sizes, small pieces of paper, old envelopes, anything that could be written on." Following her death, just after her eightieth birthday, in 1959, it fell to her companion of twenty-six years, Denise Restout, to sort out and translate these scattered documents, together with several magazine articles, some record notes, and the path-breaking essay *Musique Ancienne*, first published in Paris in 1909 and long since out of print. In order to turn Landowska's precise, staccato French into equally forceful and fastidious English, Miss Restout enlisted the help of Robert Hawkins, who had already served with distinction as Landowska's literary aide in the matter of the notes for *The Well-Tempered Clavier*.

AT THE writing desk, Landowska covered nearly as wide a range of themes as she did on the two-manual harpsichord. The first part of her book incorporates a revised 125-page version of *Musique Ancienne*. Part II covers such subjects as the interpretation of Bach's clavier works, the character of Handel's suites, Scarlatti's sonatas, French, English, and Polish music of the past, and the elements of *style galant*. Part III deals with changes of fashion and trends in scholarship, with the mysteries and problems of interpretation, and with her reactions to several kinds of modern music—Falla (Yes), Gershwin (Yes), Prokofiev (No), Stravinsky (Maybe). Few of these sketches touch more than tangentially on the author's own life story; that part is still to come, for Miss Restout, reversing the historic role of Alice B. Toklas, is planning to put together a second volume devoted to Landowska's autobiographical writings.

As an avid reader and researcher, Landowska was not unaware of the risks she ran by trying to put into words what she could convey so much more brilliantly in the language of tones. "I know the danger of using poetic evocations or literary descriptions in writing about music," she admits. "I know the fragility, the ephemeral quality of the images that certain kinds of music suggest to us. A Bach prelude described by Riemann as 'a balmy spring night' may

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have a completely different meaning for me. . . ." Even so, she has no compunctions about using a good old-fashioned pictorial image when the mood is upon her. In one of the Scarlatti sonatas she sees "a proud Hidalgo in rags." In another, "The hammering of horses' hoofs, the ringing of silver bits, and the jingling of spurs come to us from a distance." A third ends with "the poignant farewell of the deserted woman." And some of Scarlatti's characteristic openings remind her of "the entrance of a dancer with her mantilla and fluttering fan."

Did Landowska actually think in those romantic terms about Scarlatti and Bach, or was this merely as close as she could come to verbalizing her musical feelings? I rather suspect the latter. In any case, she had earned the right to embroider her musical history with a string of anecdotes, and to read operatic plots into harpsichord pieces. As first lady of *musique ancienne* she can speak about the pleasures of music with a passion and engagement that is denied the professional writers on the same subject, who cannot afford to be caught wearing their hearts on scholarly sleeves or on critical cuffs. And even if her writing is feminine and sentimental to the same extent that her playing was masculine and unsentimental, it is still a thousand times more readable than the crypto-musicological cant that now passes for English in this most underprivileged department of literature. Landowska describes one of Bach's *Goldberg Variations* as "a caryatid slowly moving with stony steps." The annotator of a more recent recording of the same work talks about "intricate homogeneity of thematic substance," "harmonic contingencies of diverse contrapuntal structures," and "motivic facets within the melodic complex." Landowska has too much sense of humor to write such pomposities about the liveliest of the arts; she is always delighted to find a drop of paradox at the heart of the lotus. "Eternal beauty may be immutable," she observes, "but all the same it changes a little every season. . . ." Polyphony, which was her life's work, is in itself a cunningly paradoxical system of setting point *contra* point. "Often pupils ask, 'Which of the two voices should be brought out?,' " she writes in connection with Bach's two-part pieces. "I answer, 'Both.' "

GENERALLY speaking, Landowska approves of music-making that corresponds to Nietzsche's conception of "a mocking, light, volatile, divinely serene, and divinely ingenious art, which blazes up like a clear flame into a cloudless heaven." She disapproves of a long list of things that run counter to this ideal: Bach played on the piano—"The tonal volume is dilated, yet spineless and flabby"; critics who are deaf to what happens beneath the surface and judge only "the obvious features of a piece—those they can perceive"; the warhorses of the keyboard repertoire—"the same two or three dozen pieces which form the trousseau of every virtuoso"; pianists who play

too slowly or too fast—"In the allegros of certain performers there is something which calls to mind the indifferent brutality of a machine or the feverish haste of the commuter who is afraid of missing his train." She raps the knuckles of indolent pianists—"We do not play with our soul; we play with our ten fingers, ten poor little beings, thoughtless, clumsy, and cruel." And she deplores the fact that students are not learning how to trill properly—"An ornament played badly is like a smile in a toothless mouth." *Brava,* Landowska! Even Virgil Thomson will wish he had said that.

Unlike the desk-bound musicologists, she always had the advantage of mobility, of going on concert tours that brought her in touch with what remained of European folk music, the very soil from which her Bach and Scarlatti and Couperin had sprung. Her experiences in the hinterlands confirmed her impression that dancing and the art of *tracer l'amour avec les pieds* were at the root of all harpsichord music. In Spain, she discovered the affinities between a matador's *paso doble* and the rhythms of Scarlatti, once music-master to the Madrid court. In Portugal, while playing Purcell at a concert in Coimbra, she suddenly noticed that there were four roustabouts backstage, "in working clothes and espadrilles, humming to themselves . . . going through the motions of a dance"—a Portuguese *fado* moving in perfect time to a seventeenth-century *ground.* Her coal man in Paris, an Auvergnat, instinctively broke into his native mountain jig when he heard her strike up a *bourrée* on the harpsichord.

And she never forgot having seen, in the Polish countryside where she was brought up, "a farm girl milking the cows, in 2/4 time, while soothing them by singing a *mazur* in 3/4. This, which seems incredible to a stranger, is natural for a Pole because of the peculiar accentuation of the mazurka." She cultivated the same natural, free-swinging rhythm in her performances of these folk dances turned court dances. No instrument is better suited for the purpose than the percussive harpsichord, with its "architectural planes of sound, its wide, airy horizons, which leave us free to erect bold arches, within and between which the parts move, diverge and meet in absolute freedom."

These brief quotations should suffice to show that Landowska was a first-rate writer on music. And yet, for any great musician, writing is at best a secondary and auxiliary medium—which is why Landowska in her last years, faced with the choice between producing a book or making more records, unhesitatingly chose the latter. "Blessed is he who invented recording!" she exclaimed, with an audible sigh of relief, grateful that the children of her brain and hands will not be entirely lost to posterity. The three hundred-odd pieces she recorded during her lifetime constitute the major share of

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her legacy, and it is they, rather than her book, that convey the quintessence of Landowska on music. Perhaps half of these disks are now 78-rpm collectors' items. But many of the most important recordings, including those she made for RCA Victor after escaping to America in 1941, are now being reissued or have never gone out of print, as have so many other memorable disks of the last two or three decades.

AT THE HEAD of the list is her "last will and testament"—all forty-eight Preludes and Fugues of Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier* on six LPs, of which the concluding volume appeared in 1954 (Victor LM 6801). Her incomparable version of the *Goldberg Variations* dates from 1945 and should demonstrate irrefutably that these pieces belong on harpsichord, not the piano (Victor LM 1080). *Wanda Landowska—Memorial Edition* (Victor LM 2389) offers all fifteen of Bach's Two-Part Inventions (she thought it a great pity that these should be put in the hands of beginners) and seven of the Three-Part Inventions, which were among the last works she recorded in 1959.

Perhaps the best introduction to the full range of her interests is the *Treasury of Harpsichord Music* (Victor LM 1217), which includes pieces by Couperin, Purcell, Bach, Handel, Mozart, and Scarlatti. Another collection, *The Art of the Harpsichord* (Victor LM 2194), offers Bach's *Capriccio on the Departure of His Beloved Brother*, the Partita in C minor, the Fantasia in C minor, and a passacaglia by J.F.K. Fischer, one of her eighteenth-century rediscoveries. There is also an LP of Haydn sonatas played on both harpsichord and piano (Victor LM 6073), and a two-record Mozart album (LM 6044) containing four sonatas and the magnificent Rondo in A minor, K. 511, all recorded on the piano between 1955 and 1959.

The disks she made in Europe for His Master's Voice before the war are now coming out here on the Angel label's series of "Great Recordings of the Century." Though of earlier vintage, the sound of these records is still more than adequate to show us Landowska as she was in her fifties, at the height of her formidable powers as a technician. The Angel Bach collection (COLH 71) brings together the *Italian Concerto*, the *Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue*, the Partita in B Flat Major, and the Toccata and Fugue in D Major, all recorded in Paris around 1935. No less important are the two superb Scarlatti LPs, which include material that was never released here in the days of 78 rpm. The first set of twenty sonatas (Angel COLH 73) originated in London and Paris in 1934. The second set of twenty (COLH 304) dates from 1939-1940, and at one point the thunder of anti-aircraft fire is heard in the background. Here, as in everything she touched, she showed herself the musician *sans peur et sans reproche*, a divinely serene and ingenious artist whose music blazed up like a clear flame into a cloudless sky. It was, she felt, a matter of being predestined for this role: "I believe that in giving me life, God organized my being as a whole—musicality, love of polyphony, and round hands."

The Women of Klimt and Schiele

ALFRED WERNER

FREUD dealt too harshly with Vienna when he remarked, after living there for fifty years, that he had never encountered any new ideas. Though it was true that in the Vienna of his time—much more than in Paris or Berlin—anything unconventional was usually opposed and condemned by both the public and the press, the city seethed with new and daring ideas. In the arts, apart from

the composers Mahler and Schönberg and the writers Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal, there were innovators in painting during the early years of this century. Vienna was the home of Klimt and Schiele, Gerstl and Kokoschka. The first two, Gustav Klimt (1862-1918) and Egon Schiele (1890-1918), are currently being shown in a remarkable exhibition of drawings and oils at the Guggenheim Museum in New York.

Freud, who never concerned himself with the living arts of his day, somehow presides over the show. Aside from their Austrian nationality, a preoccupation with sex is probably all that the Art Nouveau painter Klimt and the Expressionist Schiele have in common. But it is a preoccupation with sex as a problem, not the joyous sensual exultation of Renoir or Maillol. Though there are some landscapes in this double exhibition, renderings of women—seductresses and mothers, nymphets and society ladies—predominate. The mood ranges from gentle, somewhat melancholy lassitude to open despair. Pictures like these could have been produced only in the declining years of the Hapsburg empire, in a society where the worship of women was an integral part of Austrian culture. Nowhere was the wealthy lady more exclusively the arbiter of taste, and nowhere were the arts so much centered in her drawing room and boudoir.

Klimt's difficulties arose when his clients were masculine. Three huge ceiling paintings commissioned for the entrance hall of the University of Vienna aroused the ire of the professors, who forced the authorities to reject these perplexing allegories—spiral processions of starkly nude figures with faces and gestures expressive of the profound mysteries of life. The ceiling paintings were among the many Klimt canvases lost when the castle in Lower Austria where they were stored was burned by the retreating Germans in the spring of

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By Fernando Krahn

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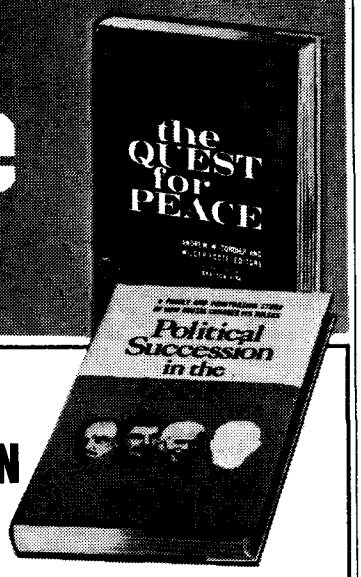

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1945; a small oil sketch of one, "Medicine" is included in the Guggenheim show. But, though the men might shout *"Scheusslich!"*—"Dreadful!"—ladies of Vienna's *haute bourgeoisie* were in love with Klimt and his work. Society women embroidered ornamental epaulettes for the princely robes that he wore in public.

UNFORTUNATELY, the Guggenheim was unable to borrow two of Klimt's most important existing works, "Judith" and "Salome." One need not be a Freudian to guess why *fin de siècle* writers and artists were haunted by the images of these two *femmes fatales* who triumphed at the decapitation of a male. Klimt's partly naked Judith, calmly holding the ugly head of her victim, is the acme of sensuality, with half-closed eyes under strongly defined eyebrows and heavy lids, and thirsty lips parted to show gleaming teeth. When they are not Judith or Salome, Leda or Danaë, the rich, dark-haired women he painted are like peacocks parading their plumage: dressed in silk, satin, or tulle, they wear indifferent expressions on almost anemically pale faces, and have slender, obviously useless hands. Indeed, their hands and faces can often scarcely be disentangled from their magnificent robes. In those airless, flat portraits that resemble tapestries, the fusion of person and thing is so complete that a high degree of "abstraction" is obtained. But all this depiction of gold and silver sequins in precious, enamel-like pigments cannot hide a melancholy sense of the futility and evanescence of all human endeavor. Even when the artist turns to the pointillistic rendering of gardens, parks, orchards, and towns mirrored in lakes, there is no breathable air and the greens and blues are not those found in nature. Significantly, figures are completely absent from landscapes that are spread out like ornamental rugs. Often the early, heavily stylized "Byzantine" Kandinsky comes to mind, and even Mondrian's rectilinear explorations; these two artists may very well have been influenced by the work of Klimt during his period of international fame in the decade before the First World War.

Klimt was the foremost representa-

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tive of Austrian Art Nouveau—the Secessionsstil. In 1897, along with other progressive artists, he left the reactionary Künstlerhaus—the gallery of the art establishment—to form the "Secession" and hold independent exhibitions. It was only logical for one of the great architects of this ornamental style, Josef Hoffmann, to turn to Klimt for the embellishment of his finest Art Nouveau building, the Palais Stoclet, built in Brussels between 1904 and 1911. The nine large pen-and-ink and gouache cartoons for the building's dining-room frieze are on view at the Guggenheim. They were made for the craftsmen of the Wiener Werkstätte, who reproduced them in metal, enamel, and semi-precious stones, and they have often been compared to Byzantine mosaics and the work in the Orthodox baptistry at Ravenna. They were not meant for worship, however, but for the delectation of the hothouse creatures who set the blasé, mannered tone of the luxurious life of Europe before the shots were fired at Sarajevo.

SCHIELE considered himself a disciple of the much older Klimt and, to free himself from Naturalism, went through a Klimtesque period, with mosaic-like patterns and hieratic poses. But he soon shed all of this and evolved—along with Kokoschka and others—a brutally direct manner of expression diametrically opposed to all that Klimt stood for. There is no known self-portrait of Klimt (photographs show him to have been broad-shouldered, bearded, majestic-looking). But there are several of Schiele's numerous self-portraits at the Guggenheim, drawn and painted with what might be described as neo-Gothic fervor, and revealing a tall, lean man with feverish dark eyes beneath tousled dark hair and a furrowed brow. To those who met him, it always seemed as if he had just awakened from a bad dream.

The conduct of Klimt, a lifelong bachelor, offered no reason for any scandal in a city in which gossip-mongering was almost a fine art. By contrast, the exhibitionist Schiele, a product of the Freudian era, a professed eroticist and an insatiable voyeur, observed and drew masturbating Lolitas (none of which are shown at the Guggenheim). Schiele had frequent encounters with the law. In Prague, the police ordered his pictures removed from an exhibition, and he was expelled from another city for his "corrupting influence upon youth." In yet another, police raided his studio and confiscated a batch of "indecent" drawings. His

arrest led to a court trial at which the judge ceremoniously burned one of them. In Nazi Germany, Schiele's works were removed from museums as "degenerate."

Today we are not shocked by Schiele's absorption with sex; we are impressed, rather, by his draftsmanship. In a few lively strokes he caught gesture and character so splendidly that the resultant drawings give the impression of completeness. His figures are always convincing, and there is a bewitching quality in the swinging rhythm of his line, often enhanced by the addition of some chromatic accents in watercolor or gouache.

Schiele is one of the most ardent harbingers of Expressionism. The great Austrian critic Hermann Bahr might have been describing Schiele when he said: "The Expressionist throws open the mouth of humanity." Lean, angular, "abstract," given to audacious foreshortening, alarming perspectives, and often shrill color, his mature works are far from pleasant. Apart from the self-portraits, the exhibition contains equally unsettling psychological portraits of the artist's wife and friends. There are melancholy landscapes—autumn was Schiele's favorite season—and vistas of Austrian towns, reminiscent of Utrillo's *maisons tragiques*. Bare, solitary trees look like ghosts in an ominous drama; ragged, stiff-limbed children peer at us with precocious eyes; everywhere, there is poverty, blindness, death.

Schiele worked incessantly. He drew wherever he happened to be and on whatever material was available, using a witty, sensitive line that needed no shading and that ultimately acquired the calligraphic simplicity of Matisse. The Austrian writer Gerhard Schmidt has pointed out that Schiele was the chief representative of the southern, Austrian brand of *Expressionismus*, "in which line achieved the highest suggestive power as the means of expressing the critical state of things on the existential, erotic, and social planes." He quickly learned to dispense with superfluous detail, and to exaggerate heads, hands, or the impact of color, in order to achieve the highest emotional pitch. If in his early work color does not play the dominant role it occupies in the work of Austria's other two eminent Expressionists, Kokoschka and Gerstl, in his last years his painterly qualities rose to the high level of his draftsmanship.

BOTH ARTISTS—Klimt, who was still deeply rooted in the ideas and ideals of a world in decay, and Schiele, who revolted against everything a society that he found hypocritical and superficial stood for—were fated to die in 1918, when the Austro-Hungarian monarchy also expired. Klimt died of an apoplectic stroke, after having finally become an honorary member of the same Academy of Fine Arts that for years had fiercely opposed him. Schiele, who sketched him as he lay on his deathbed, had no inkling that for him, too, time was running out. He was now happily married, and a prospective father. His one-man show at the Secession—a sellout—occupied the entire main hall. Then, in October, he and his wife succumbed to the influenza epidemic that raged over Central Europe.

Schiele might have become one of the greatest artists of our time, far outdistancing Kokoschka, who at seventy-nine is still going strong. A similar tragedy occurred when the Florentine Masaccio died, as did Schiele, in his late twenties. "He would have done still greater things for art, had not death so prematurely deprived the world of this great master," Vasari wrote of Masaccio. No more fitting epitaph could have been written for the protagonist of Austrian Expressionism, Egon Schiele.

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BOOKS

Laissez-Faire in the Slums

WILLIAM W. NASH, JR., and CHESTER W. HARTMAN

THE FEDERAL BULLDOZER: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF URBAN RENEWAL, 1949-1962, by Martin Anderson. A publication of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard University. *MIT Press. $5.95.*

After fifteen years of Federally subsidized surgery on our ailing cities, the first full-scale evaluation of the urban-renewal program is finally available. As such, *The Federal Bulldozer* is bound to command attention, all the more because it emerges from a leading "think tank."

There can be little doubt that the book is mainly intended as a polemic. Consider, for example, the author's final solution: "It is recommended that the federal urban renewal program be repealed now. No new projects should be authorized; the program should be phased out by completing, as soon as possible, all current projects. The federal urban renewal program conceived in 1949 had admirable goals. Unfortunately it has not and cannot achieve them. Only free enterprise can."

These highly debatable conclusions were put into the hands of key government officials, private individuals, and organizations at the author's own expense just before the November elections. Since then the pot has been kept boiling by press reports of Anderson's public appearances and a spate of impulsive reviews of his book. So far, the comments have praised or damned its conclusions but have ignored its real contribution.

ANDERSON's empirical findings not only sharply define the central problems of urban renewal for the first time but could provide the basis for long-overdue revisions. He documents the failure of the program to alleviate the shortage of decent housing for low- and moderate-income families. The present urban-renewal program attempts to revitalize decaying sections of the central city—the domain of the poor, the minorities, the newcomers, and the drifters—in order to reclaim these areas for "higher uses." The hope is that middle- and upper-class families will be lured back from their suburban and exurban sanctuaries to provide the cultural, commercial, and functional vitality that makes big cities attractive and productive. Laudable as this goal may be, its impact on the less fortunate has approached disastrous proportions.

Anderson examined the progress reports of 326 renewal projects under way as of March, 1961. These revealed that more than 126,000 dwelling units had been destroyed, as many as twenty per cent of which were still sound. New construction on these sites amounted to a scant twenty-eight thousand units, or less than one-fourth of those demolished, and only about three thousand of these were low-rent units within the financial reach of the bulk of the families removed by clearance. The average rent for the remaining units was $195 a month.

Wholesale shifts of people and land uses of this sort might be considered acceptable government policy if the process of rehousing displaced families were handled properly. But Anderson casts a skeptical eye on the accuracy of relocation reports filed by local agencies. Although the Urban Renewal Administration reports that eighty per cent of the families relocated have moved into decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings, other studies support his view that political pressures on these agencies tend to make the figures unrealistically optimistic.

Given the characteristics of families to be relocated and the paucity of decent low-rent housing, the true figure may be well under eighty per cent. Furthermore, forced relocation has been most harsh on the two-thirds of displaced families who are nonwhite, and who usually find every aspect of the search for a decent new home an oppressive experience. That a government program aimed at the general welfare of its citizens should have such an effect on the most disadvantaged group in our society is a serious indictment.

Anderson also shows that urban renewal has not even had the virtue of substantially adding to the community's tax base. In fact, the extremely long gestation of the average renewal project—twelve years from initial survey to final construction—obliges some communities to wait many years before tax revenues following urban renewal are sufficient to recover interim losses. This bleak financial picture, Anderson claims, results in part from the failure to attract private capital into renewal areas, despite the writing down of land values and Federal mortgage support. He goes on to speculate that a substantial portion of the renewal construction probably would have occurred in other parts of the city even without government assistance. Ultimately, he claims, renewal has not eliminated slums but has merely shifted them to less obvious parts of the city.

ALTHOUGH Anderson's well-documented criticisms of the program's operation are essentially valid, the polemic nature of the book frequently leads him to manipulate data to his own ends and to ignore other material that might detract from his central thesis. Concentrating on the 1949-1962 period, Anderson disregards the definite policy changes initiated by the Housing and Home Finance Agency during the last few years. Relocation is being handled more effectively today; there is greater sensitivity to the social problems that accompany renewal; a new and potentially effective government middle-income housing program has been introduced; and more imaginative experiments are under way to provide publicly subsidized housing for low-income families. Anderson falls short of objective scholarship by not analyzing the significance of these changes. As a result, his predictions for urban renewal are merely straight-line projections of past trends.

Perhaps even less excusable is Anderson's projection of national

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housing trends into the 1970's based solely upon postwar developments in the housing market. There is no question that this country has experienced a major improvement in its housing standards since the Second World War. As Anderson writes, "During the decade from 1950 to 1960 the actual number of substandard dwelling units declined from 17.0 million to 10.9 million, *a decrease of 6.1 million.*" He concludes that since this feat was accomplished largely through the operations of the private builders, free enterprise can solve the nation's residual housing problems without the support of government programs.

Anderson presents no evidence for these conclusions; his confidence in private enterprise, which has yet to prove itself capable of providing housing for lower-income families without government aid, represents little more than an act of faith. With his background, perhaps this faith is understandable. Anderson holds a master's degree in engineering and business administration, and a Ph.D. in industrial management; he has been a financial analyst for the Ford Motor Company, and a faculty member at Dartmouth's Graduate Engineering School; he is now an assistant professor at Columbia's Graduate School of Business. His original motivation for studying urban renewal as stated in his preface is revealing: "When this book was started in 1960, I had no interest in the federal urban renewal program itself; my objective was to find out more about how private enterprise would be affected by the program . . . what kind of profit potential existed."

THE major improvements in the nation's housing supply since 1950 have come about largely because of the release of pent-up demands created by the population expansion after the depression and war and facilitated by government mortgage insurance and guarantees. But the slum legacy remaining in the 1960's is still immense. The millions living in substandard housing today are caught in a poverty trap: families with incomes insufficient to secure decent housing, large families with inadequately trained or educated wage earners, broken families, non-

Cellar Springs in Winter

In the cellar room dug out
Last summer, first a moisture carried
Up the walls and dried away
Into a blotched and estuaried

Map-edged stain upon the stone;
And then there grew a small
Run stirring up the gravel
Of a far-back corner floor; it was

For weeks a sound I thought
Merely blood in an ear-vein
Beating when I stood to watch
The push of my white breath

Onto the clay-cold air.
And now, something of a welling,
A currenting, a live stream
Grown and noisy in a single night

While I slept and heard
Nothing; and now,
Because the water surges so
In one new dark and freezing room,

The rooftree thunders overhead,
The pinelog joists
Are shredding to the hand,
The spider-warrened walls

Could slide and heave; I carry
All that darkness where I am
Through still stable boardfloor rooms,
And do not breathe

To hear below the soft slip
Of the mud floor falling in
And down to heavy gathering.
All day and night I hear

The cellar springs run underneath;
Not in the memory of any here
Has cellar water run
When snow was on the ground,

And ice is damming up the eaves.
This water is one gathering
From hill land that I own;
Behind the house the land I own

Goes dry to flood me while I sleep.
I do not sleep; the cellar stone
Runs stronger every night; beneath
My heavy house and hill

The planet's ruptured dome
Is bleeding to the cellar hole,
The one owned room in all this house
Where breath was visible.

—JOHN ENGELS

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THE REPORTER Puzzle

Acrostickler® No.120

by HENRY ALLEN

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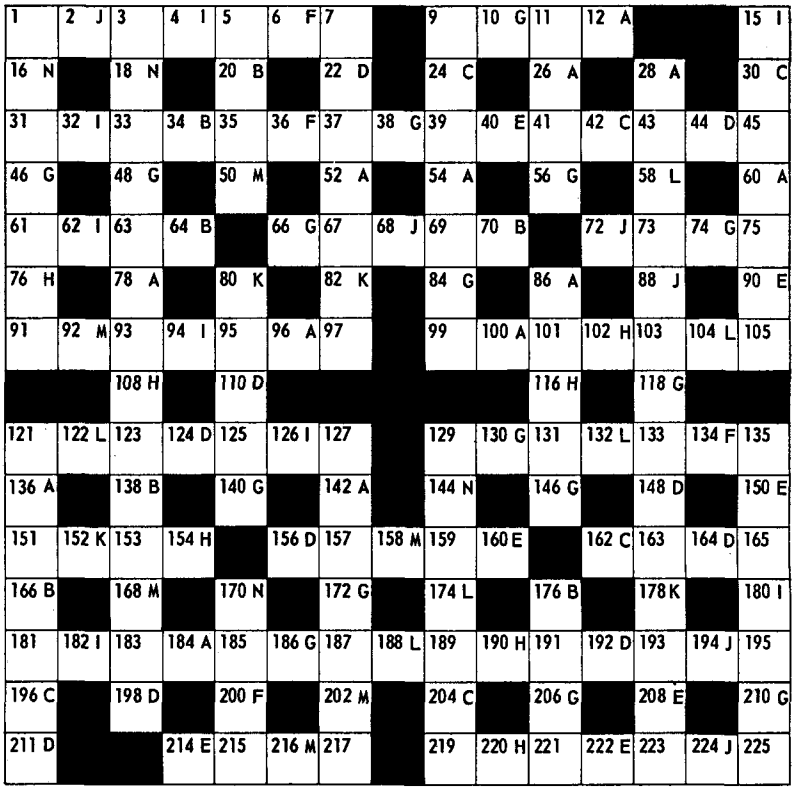
DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the Acrostician.



A 96 26 12 78 136 28 100 52 86 60 54 142
184 Reasoning or the process of exact thinking.

B 138 64 70 176 20 166 34 City in Wisconsin.

C 162 30 42 204 196 24 "The ballot is stronger than the_____." Abraham Lincoln, speech, May 19, 1856.

D 192 22 156 164 198 211 124 110 148 44 "London, that great sea, whose_____ At once is deaf and loud . . ." Shelley, "Letter to Maria Gisborne" (3,3,4).

E 90 222 208 214 160 150 40 A tumbling barrel.

F 36 200 6 134 Be silent! (Latin).

G 66 10 172 118 46 56 186 130 48 210 38
206 84 140 74 146 Popular song of the last century by W.R. Mandale (3,4,3,6).

H 108 220 116 76 190 154 102 The come-on (slang) (4,3).

I 62 32 15 4 94 182 126 180 Skip with glancing rebounds.

J 88 68 72 194 224 2 "For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth _____together until now." Romans (2,4).

K 80 178 152 82 "Qu'en un lieu, qu'en un jour, un seul_____accompli . . ." Boileau, L'Art Poétique."

L 132 58 122 188 174 104 A rib or rim for strength.

M 92 202 168 216 158 50 "Or have we eaten on the_____root/That takes the reason prisoner?" Shakespeare, Macbeth.

N 16 170 18 144 Dwelling place of a widow in the Bible.

ACROSS

1. What a law may be, especially under duress (2,5).
9. This isn't hard—quite easy, in fact.
31. Concerns of the Acrostician (5,2,4,4).
61. They may be seven and lively.
66. Swipe in Britain—soft! a measurement follows.
72. May be guilty or innocent. Ask for it.
91. Honest in what he does since returning.
99. Do you live, Ned? He's quickened again!
121. Singapore hotel or fictional thief.
129. A bit of a scrap in Japanese money become rigid.
151. It's breezy in the county fair you attend.
156. It's commonplace to deny little Albert.
162. Is the spoiled child little Albert? No. Little Bart.
181. Conditions which may be items of an army officer (6,2,7).
214. Clothes about and boast about.
219. Ancient Greek city is almost elusive.

DOWN

1. What one may make without necessarily going on the last part.
3. Occupation of the devil and his soldiers? (8,3,3).
5. Memory tore up the matter.
7. Make a bone tie with hard rubber.
9. The last CIO meeting might have been this, philosophically.
11. Bogus trick.
15. Dessert for the cow with a star in her cud.
28. What the militia or the parted lovers may be doing (7,3,4).
80. Cuts down downs.
86. What use to ail after a five (on the dice?).
121. Dressed down and put on the coals.
127. Flattering if soft.
129. Goes with tooth when broken or when the leg sang.
135. Plants—irritating things, aren't they?
170. Kind of fish as (1,3) or when doubled, a culture no more than itself.
176. Keen about this joint.

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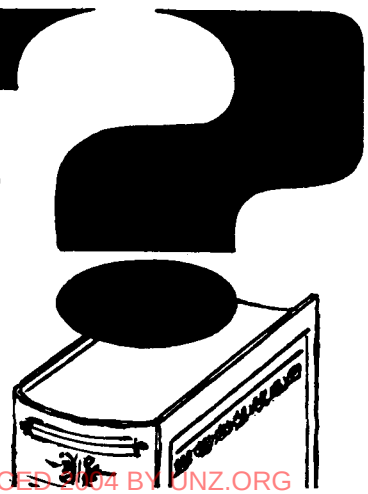

whites, and the elderly. Not only are they unable to secure decent housing in the private market; unless means are developed to counteract the full range of their deprivations, they will benefit little from decent housing alone. It is hardly likely that in the 1960's free enterprise will be able to move even a small fraction of six million of today's ill-housed families into decent housing, as it was able to do in the 1950's. To compare the results of government programs with those of private enterprise when the two are designed for a wholly different segment of the population must inevitably lead to faulty conclusions.

That renewal has failed as yet to provide for the disadvantaged groups in our society should not be surprising. Even though urban redevelopment (as it was called at first) was introduced as part of the 1949 Housing Act, which in its preamble promulgated the national housing goal of "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family," the program was not developed to fulfill this dream. Nothing in the history or genesis of urban renewal or in the mechanics of the program would suggest that it could make a substantial contribution to decent housing for low- and moderate-income families. Indeed, almost two-fifths of the new construction under urban renewal has been nonresidential, and over the years amendments to the Housing Act have persistently moved in the direction of expanding the commercial, industrial, cultural, and civic scope of renewal activity. Urban renewal works well to produce new and viable downtown areas such as Hartford's Constitution Plaza and New York's Lincoln Center, and these are clearly needed. But the need for a cohesive national housing program directed at better housing for everybody is urgent; incredibly, we have never had one.

Federally assisted public housing has been limping along at an average rate of thirty-five thousand new units a year for the past fifteen years. The Federal Housing Administration's various insurance titles have had considerable impact, but lacking deliberate policy guidance, collectively they have been irrelevant to the housing needs of low-income

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families. If our central concern really is to provide decent homes and suitable living environments for all families, then a wholly different strategy and a wholly revised set of priorities are called for.

THIS BOOK is an attempt to destroy the urban-renewal program. Discussing the concept of private property vis-à-vis broader social objectives, Anderson remarks: "As for 'human rights,' it needs only be noted that the right of property is probably the most important of all human rights." This is the viewpoint of a man whose primary aim is not the elimination of economic deprivation and social injustice, and whose critique of urban renewal stems from a social philosophy that appears to be far to the Right. The answer is not to abandon the one program that has focused massive amounts of money, public attention, and professional talent on our urban problems, but to reshape the aims of the program and some of its methods to meet today's priorities. Here Anderson's criticisms and documentation are truly useful, but they must be employed judiciously by those more genuinely concerned with the overwhelming problems of our cities and their inhabitants. «»

Down and Out In Bonn

GEORGE STEINER

THE CLOWN, by Heinrich Böll. Translated by Leila Vennewitz. *McGraw-Hill. $5.*

The coincidences between Heinrich Böll's novel and Saul Bellow's *Herzog* are striking. Both books take the form of a lengthy monologue in which the principal and, in fact, sole character reviews the course and meaning of his life. In both cases, the long flow of ironic reminiscence is interrupted by flashbacks, phone conversations, and imaginary exchanges with other personages. Where Moses Herzog wrestles with the fretful intricacies of his Jewishness, Böll's Hans Schnier is obsessed by the destructive incursions of Catholicism into his private fate. Like Herzog, Schnier is on the ropes; he is trying to put together the pieces of his life that have been scattered far and wide by failure. In both novels, the monologue is essentially dialectic, giving expression to both self-indictment and apologia, to sarcasm and forgiveness. Even the primary gestures are similar: Herzog and Schnier are men literally on their backs, on the battered couch or in the bath, smoking and drinking alone and letting their thoughts wander at dangerous liberty.

BÖLL'S NON-HERO is a clown and mime driven back to his lair in Bonn after a disastrous performance in Bochum, one of the steel towns of the opulent rebuilt Rhineland. Marie, with whom he has conducted a precarious, profoundly vulnerable affair, has left him to marry "Züpfner, that Catholic." Schnier's own doubts about Catholicism had given his liaison an unsteady, nervous character. Now he is alone with a badly swollen knee, murderous press notices, a bottle of brandy, his last pack of cigarettes, and one mark. He tries to make intelligent contact with his family, his agent, his friends, and the kind young lady who has brought the cognac and baked beans to his empty kitchen. But the voices ring false or busy. Everybody has his own life to pursue. Schnier's brother, himself a convert to Catholicism, can't get away from the seminary where he is studying for the priesthood; for him charity does not begin at home but in some distant dogma of formal love. Mr. Zohnerer, the impresario, wants Schnier to vanish from sight for half a year. The young lady who had befriended him earlier is expecting company. Soon there is only silence. As *The Clown* ends, Schnier puts on his makeup, takes his guitar, and sets out to strum and beg in front of the Bonn railroad station. But his ditty has sharp teeth:

> Catholic politics in Bonn
> Are no concern of poor Pope John,
> Let them holler, let them go,
> Eeny meeny miny mo.

This is the point of this beautifully controlled, disturbing tale. Pope John, like the clown himself,

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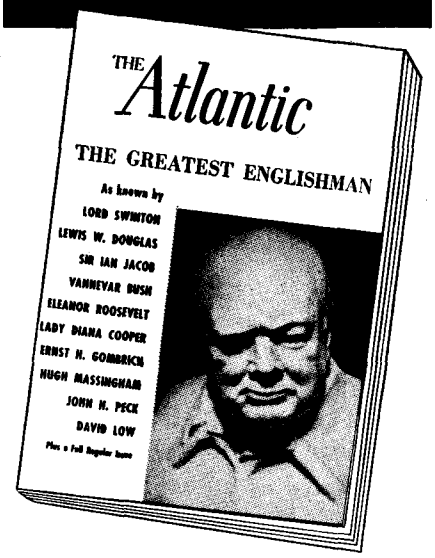

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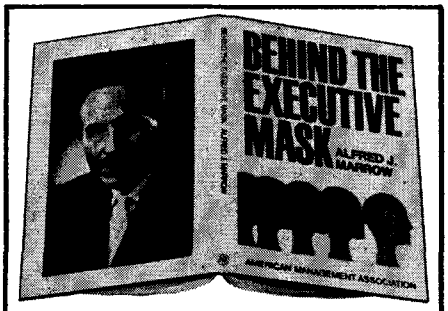

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stands for the possibilities of love in a world in which these possibilities are embarrassing or ludicrously unrealistic. Schnier is, in certain obvious ways, the holy fool; his quest for grace leaves him a beggar in a city of stone. Or, more exactly, in a city built of lies. In turn, each snatch of remembrance reveals the Nazi past behind the unctuous present.

Schnier's parents, now associated with benevolent committees on racial equality and the Negro problem, were stout defenders of the fatherland "against the Yankee Jews" and allowed Schnier's young sister to go to her death in a Hitlerjugend anti-aircraft unit. Kalick, now an esteemed liberal, was once a Jew-hunter and small-time bully. They troop to the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam now as they did once to the Bierkeller in Munich, their eyes glazed with rectitude. Professor Brühl, now an honored personage at a teachers' training college, is deemed "a man with a 'courageous political past,' because he never joined the Party." Unfortunately, Schnier recalls how Brühl listened to the Nazi firing squads and shouted to his pupils: "That's what will happen to all those who refuse to defend our sacred German soil from the Jewish Yankees."

The clown hears the past living under the smooth mask of the present. He mimes the stance of the Adenauer era, its official silences, the Boy Scout proprieties of the new Wehrmacht generals. Above all, he wants to know where Christ and the Church hid when the wolves were out. There's no room for a man like that in the new Germany; no wonder he ends up a drunken bum.

Nazism all but destroyed the vitality of the German language, and German literature could not revive until the bland amnesia and hypocrisies of the postwar period were challenged. Children had to ask their fathers to tell them the truth about what they had wrought. (The profoundly moving and subtle climax of *The Clown* is, precisely, a futile encounter between father and son.) With the publication of Günter Grass's *The Tin Drum* in 1959, a crucial change took place. Since that time, German literature has begun to face up to the past, as if the writers themselves had realized that a language and tradition of spirit cannot survive on a foundation of lies and silence. To a striking degree, whatever matters in recent German fiction and drama has dealt with the Nazi period, or with the way in which ex-Nazis and sympathizers have been allowed to prosper. Grass has done so with wild, satiric directness, Uwe Johnson by oblique irony; Rolf Hochhuth has attempted a kind of documentary melodrama; the plays of Martin Walser mix fantasy and naturalism. *The Clown* is one of the saddest, bitterest satires yet written on the Germany of the Volkswagen and Christian Democracy. It conveys a sense of suffocation, as if the smoke of the new industrial combines (run by the old masters) had made the air unbreathable. I think Böll is right. But the very fact that he has written this novel shows that there are windows open.

The Perils Of White Lotus

MARCUS KLEIN

WHITE LOTUS, by John Hersey. *Alfred A. Knopf. $6.95.*

White Lotus is a white slave girl. She has been sold into captivity among an exotic people. Less wanton than some others of her condition in literature, and more high-minded, White Lotus is nonetheless delicious. And she is vulnerable. Her vulnerability is the weapon of her high-mindedness; as she exposes her vulnerability to the enemy, this long novel in the form of a parable extends itself toward integration of the races. First scene: On a reviewing ground before a yamen, White Lotus, poised helplessly (on one leg), awaits her oppressor, a brutal fat man. He comes upon her in mute intensity with his sword upraised and at the ready, point forward. Will he or won't he? The two are locked in mutual recognition for a half-dozen pages. Final scene: He doesn't, but White Lotus feels that in her victory is an admixture of defeat.

In a flashback of nearly seven hun-

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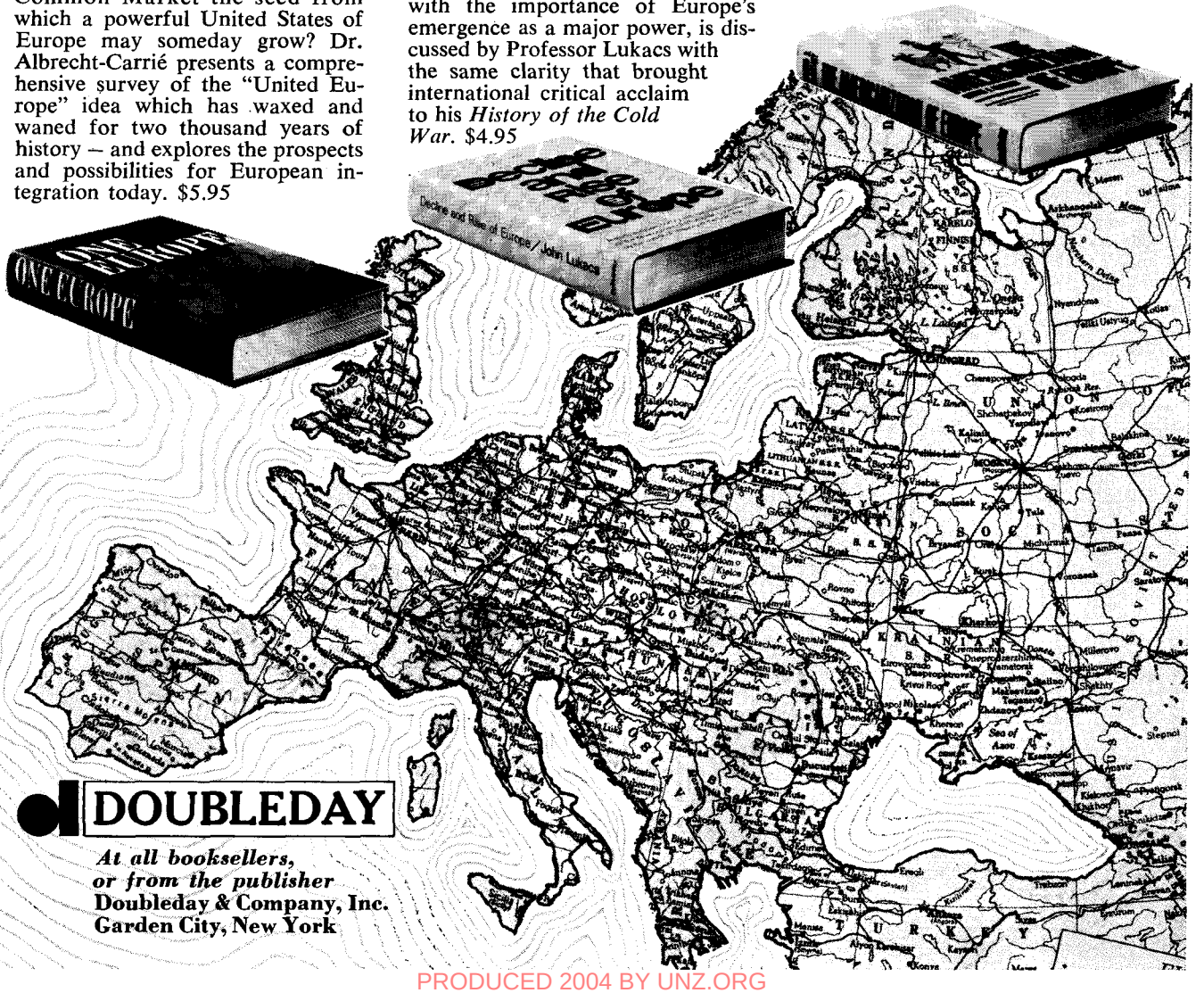

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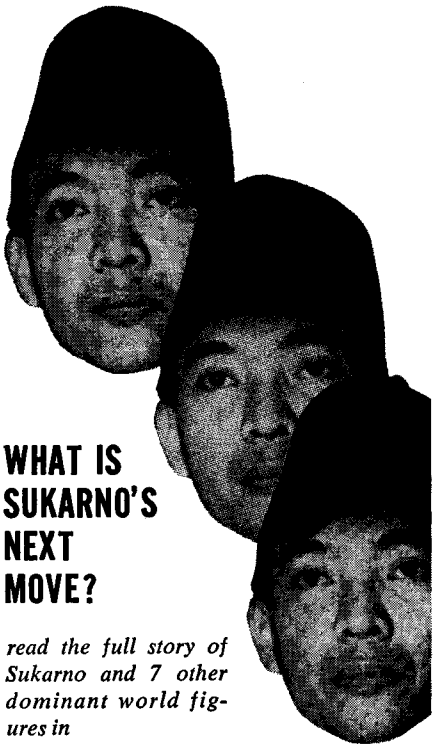

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dred pages of unassertive, utilitarian prose between the first scene and the final scene, the episodic adventures of White Lotus are revealed to be a mythicized version of the history of the Negro in the United States. The customs and the costumes of the actors have been changed, presumably in order that this history might be both universalized and made more proximate to the understanding of non-Negroes.

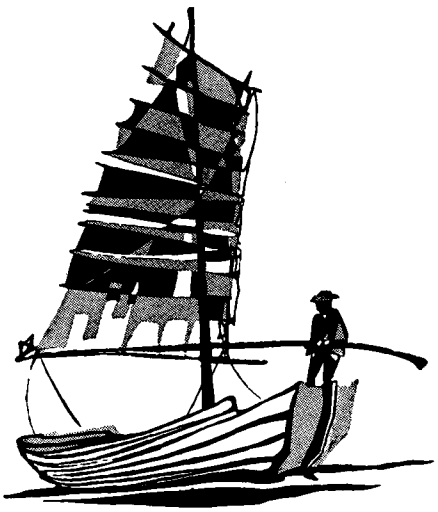
In this case, the conquered are white Americans—White Lotus, who has been given her pretty name by her first mistress, hails from Arizona; the conquerors are Chinese; the place is China, and the time seems to be the 1920's. But the basic historical fabric of this myth is American—slave raids, slave ships, slave markets; agrarian servitude; an underground railroad and guilt-ridden abolitionists; civil war, draft riots, emancipation, and consequent exploitation; the Klan; a great migration; the urban ghetto. Peking stands in for Charleston. New York has become Shanghai, a section of which looks like Harlem.

More subtly, the history given White Lotus to reveal is one of gradual assent by slaves to both the facts and the symbols of degradation. Slaves become slavish. Powerlessness breeds self-abasement, lasciviousness, narcotics addiction (opium smoking, in this case), and casual criminality. The old laws of the tribe fade from memory, and the old religion is replaced by a hysterical version of the new one. White skin becomes revolting to the whites. In imitation of the plaits of the Chinese, White Lotus tries to straighten her hair.

A number of abortive, doomed rebellions constitute White Lotus's principal adventures. Her static confrontation with the man with the sword is the last of them, and it is an ideogram of nonviolent protest.

ALL OF THIS is rendered conscientiously and with great earnestness. The amount of political, social, and psychological fact that the novel translates into a Chinese context is impressive. But Hersey's manifest aim is moral clarity—that a white may *know* what it is to be a Negro in America—and it is this worthy aim that the cumbersome device of the parable befogs in a drizzle of moral obfuscation. "The Negro problem" has cultural particularity. It is here and now and it is all our own.

It is not enough to deal with the question of particularity, as Hersey apparently intended, by making his problem particularly Chinese. His enslavers are mandarins, and Hersey is ruthlessly and extensively perceptive of their peculiar cultural expressions. As cultural travelogue this is interesting enough, but it has a bleaching effect upon White Lotus and her companions. White Lotus becomes an adept of Buddhist and



Confucian homiletics, which teach her mildness, harmony, sympathy, peace, and humility. No doubt these lessons are good for her, but they have no necessary pertinence to the actualities of the American racial situation that seemingly the novel was to clarify. Indeed, they may be impertinent.

Parable is appropriate for folk wisdom; and the tendency of this one, despite its weight of detail, is to reduce the "facts" to painless truisms. Hersey's Chinese are learned in gnomic utterance. His whites are provided with a stock of old-country saws and fables, so that at times the novel has the aspect of a debate between Confucius and Uncle Remus. White Lotus learns from the Trimetrical Classic: *"Uncut stones are worthless; illiterates ignore the proprieties."* The words burn into her mind. An elderly slave tells a tale from the old days in Arizona of a lion and a jaguar that proceeds to the moral "All the different forms

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Death takes are just the one Death," and this portentousness silences everyone within earshot. To her fat man with the sword White Lotus murmurs, "Virtuous wisdom, gentle hand," and he is filled with confusion. As the aphoristic wisdom waxes, the issues are so sermonized that they either completely dissolve or go limp.

A political resolution is promised, the promise contained in White Lotus's standing on one leg before the oppressor at the beginning and end of the novel. She stands on one leg as a matter of strategy. She is imitating a sleeping bird—a helpless, warm, lovable bird. The idea is to shame the man with the sword, who may be presumed to know the Buddha's directive to harm no living creature. The oppressed whites have come to identify with birds. By putting themselves into one-legged trances, they symbolize their plight and thereby secure moral advantage. This is nonviolence with a vengeance, and it at least shows signs of weakening the enemy. But if it works, it is because instead of the real context of the racial issue, this long parable has provided an unreal context in which it is possible that pure humility might be a way of superiority. The nonviolence we know is not so pure. There is deliberate provocation in it and violence is implicit in it.

THE FACT that the protagonist of Hersey's parable is a young girl reveals much about his approach to the racial issue. She is helpless and warm—"desirable," as she herself puts it. This allows no particular moral advantage; rather, it converts the slaves she exemplifies into the object of a romantic dalliance. They are to be protected, pitied, and fondled; that is the way toward integration, which now promises to be delightful. Hersey himself, with his evident commitment and his earnest virtue, in reality is in the position of the man with the sword, suffering qualms. With all her high-mindedness, the White Lotus of his creation is a forward wench. And in the climactic scene between White Lotus and the man with the sword, the complexities of racial conflict leak away into the little details of sexual impasse.

LEADING CONTENDERS

National Book Awards

The decisions of the judges for the 1965 National Book Awards will be announced in March. Meanwhile, these are among the books by American authors published in the United States during 1964 which the judges regard as among the most distinguished:

FICTION

LOUIS AUCHINCLOSS: The Rector of Justin (Houghton Mifflin)
SAUL BELLOW: Herzog (Viking)
JOHN HAWKES: Second Skin (New Directions)
RICHARD E. KIM: The Martyred (Braziller)
WALLACE MARKFIELD: To An Early Grave (Simon & Schuster)
VLADIMIR NABOKOV: The Defense (Putnam)
ISAAC BASHEVIS SINGER: Short Friday (Farrar, Straus)
Judges: Richard Gilman, R. W. B. Lewis, Bernard Malamud

POETRY

BEN BELITT: The Enemy Joy (University of Chicago)
JOHN BERRYMAN: 77 Dream Songs (Farrar, Straus)
JAMES DICKEY: Helmets (Wesleyan University)
JEAN GARRIGUE: Country Without Maps (Macmillan)
GALWAY KINNELL: Flower Herding on Mount Monadnock (Houghton Mifflin)
ROBERT LOWELL: For the Union Dead (Farrar, Straus)
WILLIAM MEREDITH: The Wreck of the Thresher (Knopf)
THEODORE ROETHKE: The Far Field (Doubleday)
Judges: Howard Moss, May Swenson, Allen Tate

ARTS AND LETTERS

ERIC BENTLEY: Life of the Drama (Atheneum)
ROBERT BRUSTEIN: The Theatre of Revolt (Atlantic Monthly Press)
ELEANOR CLARK: Oysters of Locmariaquer (Pantheon)
EDWARD DAHLBERG: Because I Was Flesh (New Directions)
HOWARD MUMFORD JONES: O Strange New World (Viking)
RALPH ELLISON: Shadow and Act (Random House)
Judges: Frederick Burkhardt, Richard Ellmann, Francis Steegmuller

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

LOUIS FISCHER: The Life of Lenin (Harper & Row)
OSCAR LEWIS: Pedro Martinez (Random House)
R. R. PALMER: The Age of Democratic Revolution (Princeton University)
WILLIE LEE ROSE: Rehearsal for Reconstruction (Bobbs-Merrill)
ERNEST SAMUELS: Henry Adams (Belknap Press-Harvard)
RICHARD J. WHELAN: The Founding Father (New American Library)
Judges: Roger Butterfield, Alpheus Thomas Mason, Andrew Turnbull

SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

REV. WALTER CISZEK: With God in Russia (McGraw-Hill)
THEODOSIUS DOBZHANSKY: Heredity and the Nature of Man (Harcourt, Brace)
DAVID HAWKINS: The Language of Nature (W. H. Freeman & Co.)
REV. JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY: The Problem of God (Yale University)
WALTER SULLIVAN: We Are Not Alone (McGraw-Hill)
NORBERT WIENER: God and Golem, inc. (M.I.T. Press)
Judges: Rev. Harold C. Gardiner, Gerard Piel, Morton White

The National Book Awards are administered by the National Book Committee, a non-profit educational association. The awards consist of five $1,000 prizes donated by the American Book Publishers Council, the American Booksellers Association, and the Book Manufacturers' Institute.

Watch for announcement of the winners — Tuesday, March 9

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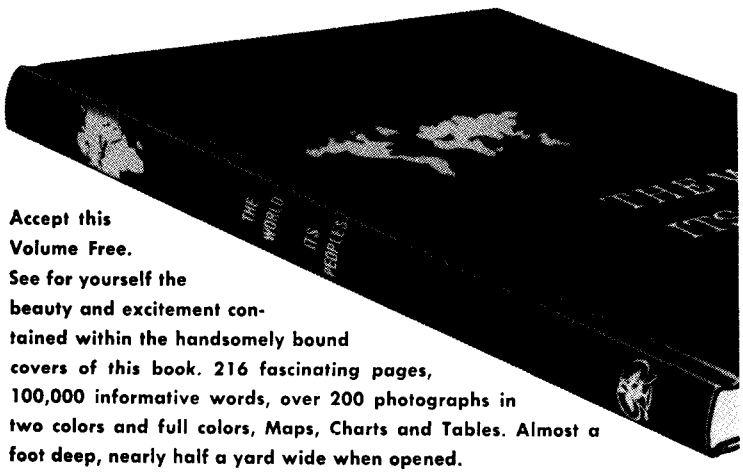

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